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Women's Participation in Decentralized Local Governance: The case of Pastoral and Non-Pastoral women in Kondoa Local Authority, Tanzania.

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SUMMARY

This dissertation explores women's participation in decentralized local governance in Tanzania. The issue of women's participation in governance in Tanzania has become increasingly prominent in the area of governance. This is due to fact that although women constitute slightly more than half of the country's population, they are disproportionately represented in the governance domain. A body of knowledge exists on participation and gender in Tanzania. However, beyond plain statistics, there is limited information on women's experiences in participation within decentralized local governance in the country. Two main theoretical streams exist in literature concerning participation and gender. One stream of literature argues that women's descriptive participation leads to substantive women's participation. The other stream argues that it is important to focus on what specific actors do to represent women's concerns and not women's descriptive participation. Against this background this thesis aims to explore how, why and the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance in Tanzania.

The data analysed in the dissertation were collected in Kondoa Local Authority, Tanzania. Within Kondoa, the two dominant women groups-pastoral women and non-pastoral women were selected as case studies. In this study I employed qualitative research methods. To analytically link theoretical perspectives and the collected data, I employed the critical mass and critical actors theoretical perspectives, women descriptive representation, women substantive representation, women in development as well as gender and development approaches.

Based on the observations, interviews and focus group discussions, I have found that despite pastoral and non-pastoral women in governance, the quality of women participation is low. Both case studies reveal that women's participation is mainly limited to their physical presence or the nominal level. Most of the women revealed that they had limited freedom to decide whether or not to participate in a whole range of relevant activities: voting, vying for leadership positions, political campaigning, public protest and debates. Likewise, women had little influence on decision-making in meetings or in decision-making organs.

Similarly, I have shown that the dynamics of women's participation determine women's descriptive and substantive participation in governance. For instance, while social norms restrict female attendance at meetings and discussions, they also define women's actions/behaviour in meetings. Moreover, both men and women believe that women are the weaker sex, therefore women cannot participate in certain activities such as vying for

leadership positions. Additionally, I have found that incentives, access to information and power relations significantly determine women's presence in and contributions to governance. Moreover, women's interest in local governance and the Kiswahili language are also determining factors behind their substantial participation in decision-making.

Furthermore, I have found that women in governance have no impact on policy changes concerning women. Very few women are involved in and contribute to agenda setting, changes in priority, making decisions on different domains or changes in service delivery. However, a comparative analysis of the results shows that there is a higher level of participation among non-pastoral women than pastoral women.

A general conclusion in this dissertation is that there is a mismatch between women in governance and participation. I argue that having women in governance does not guarantee participation. These results challenge both the women's descriptive representation and women's substantive representation theoretical perspectives. I therefore recommend the following: (1) policies regarding women's participation should be reconstructed to ensure not only an increase in women in governance but also that women in that position are able to act for women; (2) a holistic approach is required to understand underlying forces that determine the level and quality of women's participation in governance; (3) interventions for enhancing women's participation in governance should take into consideration unique dichotomies and peculiarities among women.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
AWDF	African Women's Development Fund
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IULA	International Union of Local Authorities
LGRP	Local Government Reform Policy
LGST	Local Government System in Tanzania
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
REPOA	Research on Poverty Alleviation
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Company
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Network Programme
UN	United Nations
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WISP	World Initiatives for Sustainable Pastoralism

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CHAPTER ONE

General introduction

1.1 Introduction

The present research explains women's participation in decentralized local governance in Tanzania. It specifically explores how, why and the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance in Tanzania. The research stems from the understanding that the issue of women's participation in governance in Tanzania has become increasingly prominent in the area of governance. The centrality of women in the governance agenda is predicated on the fact that although women constitute slightly more than half of the country's population, they are disproportionately represented in the governance realm. Cognizant of this fact, the government of Tanzania has launched measures to increase the number of women representatives in decision-making organs, with the hope that women's issues will be equally promoted in such organs.

The government's major effort to enhance women's numbers in decision-making bodies was the 1992 constitutional reform that among other things introduced gender quotas in Parliament and local councils. The gender quotas increased the proportion of women representatives in local councils from 15 percent to 25 percent (URT, 2008). Further increases in the number of women representatives were recorded in the year 2000 when the government made the 13th constitutional amendment to enhance women's political empowerment in line with the Beijing Declaration of 1995 and SADCC declaration of 1997 (Meena, 2003; 2009). This resulted in an increase in the percentage of women representatives in local councils from 25 % to 33.3 % (URT, 2009). Currently, Tanzania is in the process of writing a new constitution and the draft constitution recommends a 50/50 representation among males and females in Parliament and local government decision-making organs. Previous to this, in 1998, the government adopted the Local Government Reform programme which aimed at decentralizing governance so as to enhance people's participation in decision-making.

Tanzania has so far made significant progress in terms of the numbers of women who participate in governance. However, the question remains whether numbers alone necessarily translate into participation. As we embark on this research project, there is little information on women's experiences in participation beyond bare statistics. It is against this backdrop that we explored information on women's experiences in participation in governance in Tanzania.

Specifically we explored how pastoral and non-pastoral women participate in governance. This provided insight into women's participation beyond the numerical dimension. Additionally, we looked at the different dynamics of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation and their effects. Understanding the different dynamics of women's participation in governance enabled us to uncover a broad picture of underlying forces that explain the ways in which pastoral and non-pastoral women participate in governance. Understanding the effects of women's participation in governance enables us to gauge whether numerical change in itself brings about substantive changes in the setting of agendas, changes in priorities, decisions on different domains and changes in service delivery.

Redefining women's participation problem in governance

Women's participation in decentralized local governance has been one of the greatest concerns of the government agenda in Tanzania and has attracted much scholarly attention. This is because women's participation in governance activities is limited despite their numerical advantage relative to men (Meena, 2009; Yoon, 2008). There is a body of knowledge on participation and gender in Tanzania. However, there is limited information on women's experiences in participation within a decentralized local governance in Tanzania away from numbers.

For example, Losindilo et al. (2010) examined factors hindering women's participation in social, political and economic activities in Tanzania. The study found that level of education, type of place of residence, marital status, religion, region of residence and age group have an impact on the level of poor women's participation in social, political and economic activities in Tanzania. The study however, employs a quantitative approach for analysing factors hindering women's participation.

Equally, Yoon (2008) examined attempts by the Tanzanian Government to increase the number of women serving in the Tanzanian Parliament through a quota system by looking at how the system works and its impact on women's competitiveness in the constituencies. Yoon found that there was an increase in the number of women elected in the Parliament as a result of the quota system and that women were using the quota system as a strategy for getting constituency seats. Yoon's study is limited to describing women's participation in terms of numbers and ignores women's participation beyond this criterion.

Morley (2010) conducted a study into gender mainstreaming in higher education in Tanzania and Ghana. Morley's key concern was how issues of gender equality were frequently reduced to representation. According to Morley's findings, representation was not adequate to explain women's participation in decision-making. Nevertheless, Morley's study narrowly focused on women in higher education which may not depict an accurate image of women at the grassroots levels as well as women in traditional societies like pastoral women.

Similarly, Schanke and Lange (2008) examined decentralization and gender in Tanzania and found that gender has consistently been a weak performance area of Local Government Authorities in Tanzania. The country has been dominated by patriarchal ideology/male chauvinism. Schanke and Lange's work focused on studying women as one group and ignored women in traditional societies such as pastoralist women.

Chaliga (2008) also conducted a study on local autonomy and citizen participation in six district councils in Tanzania-from a Local Government Reform Perspective. The study found that the key objective of decentralization, that is to increase citizen participation planning and implementation of development activities, has not been realized. Nevertheless, the study's target is citizens' numerical participation in governance.

In a study by Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008), pastoral women's exclusion from decision-making is discussed. However, the study is limited to showing pastoral women's numerical exclusion in governance. Likewise in the study by Ngoitiko (2008) pastoral women's marginalization in patriarchal Maasai culture is addressed. Ngoitiko's findings reveal that Maasai traditions are sources of Maasai women's under-representation in decision-making organs. Ngoitiko's findings focus on women's marginalization from numerical point of view.

Therefore a critical look into the studies presented above depicts an obvious research gap in the literature which this study intends to fill.

1.2 Participation and gender: Theoretical perspectives and discussions

Studying women's participation in governance necessarily draws us into the ongoing participation and gender debate. The literature points out that there are two main lines of thinking within a discourse of participation and gender. According to the critical mass literature, the number of women involved in governance matters in participation. This means that women's participation in governance will only have an impact if there is a considerable

number of women involved. This argument is supported by the women in development approach and women's descriptive representation perspective which argues that the number of women representatives should be directly proportional to women represented. The critical actors' literature opposes critical mass as well as women descriptive representation thinking by arguing that women's participation is not about numbers. Rather it is about roles played by actors to support women's issue or concerns. A similar argument is advanced by the women substantive representation school of thought which posits that the role of women representatives is to act for or speak for women's interests. In addition, the gender and development approach maintains that gender relations matter in participation. In the following section a detailed discussion about critical mass and critical actors' lines of thinking, women's descriptive representation and women substantive representation as well as women in development and gender and development approaches are presented.

Critical mass theoretical perspective

Over the past twenty years the notion of critical mass has widely gained currency among politicians and academics as well as gender activists as a justification to bring more women into political office (Grey, 2006). The origin of critical mass thinking can be traced back to the three seminal works by Kanter (1977a; 1977b) and Dahlerup (1988). These works analyse the experiences of women who form small minorities in political spheres and conclude that women's experiences change as their number increases. The Kanter and Dahlerup ideas were taken up by subsequent researchers who transformed the possibilities signalled by Kanter and Dahlerup into firmer expectation about women. This is labelled as critical mass theory (Childs and Krook, 2008).

The critical mass theoretical perspective posits that women are not likely to have a major impact on legislative outcomes participation until their number increases from a few token individuals into a considerable minority of all participants in a decision-making organ (Kanter, 1977a; 1977b; Dahlerup, 1988; Childs and Krook, 2008). Literature supporting critical mass thinking argues that it is only when the numbers of women increases that they will be able to more efficiently and promote women-friendly policy change (Darcy and Welch, 1994; Bratton, 2005; Dahlerup, 2006). Therefore, an increase in numerical representation is crucial for ensuring that women's interests, needs and concerns (such as autonomy well-being) are incorporated into the policy making process by women's input

(Bratton, 2005; Phillips, 1995). The critical mass notion has gained wide currency in the world and has formed a basis for the formulation and existence of the quota system in a bid to bring more women in political office. According to proponents of the critical mass and gender quota system the percentage of critical mass of women is supposed to be between 15 to 30 per cent of the total number of members in all decision-making bodies so as to increase attention to women's issues and bring policy changes in decision-making organs (Grey, 2006).

In her contribution to support critical mass thinking, Phillips observed that male and female politicians often reveal distinctly gendered political interests, with women expressing concerns about education, welfare, and the environment whilst men claim affinity to the economy, industry, energy and foreign affairs. These interests according to Phillips can only be appropriately represented if there is a reasonable number of women in decision-making organs (Phillips, 1995).

Therefore women in governance not only ensures the representation of women's interests but also enhances political life from women's experiences and creates role models for other women who subsequently emulate their representatives (Phillips, 1995). Equally, Darcy and Welch (1994) hold that women representation is indispensable for purposes of sharing women's expertise and legitimizing the governance system. This point is extended by Mackay and Phillips who note that even the mere presence women in politics makes a difference in a "symbolic" sense where they may not necessarily act differently from men or specifically represent women's interests but rather lend legitimacy to political institutions as "signifiers of justice, inclusion and recognition"(Mackay, 2004: 101; Phillips, 1995).

There is also literature that confirms that decision-making organs with few women representatives may fail to recognize or to comprehend issues of great importance to women in society (Krook, 2004; Childs and Krook, 2009). Consequently, such decision-making organs will have no impact on influencing decisions that are pro-women unless the level of women representation in the decision-making organs is higher by a considerable margin in relation than that of men (Childs and Krook, 2009).

Stressing the importance of women's representation, Kanter outlines three prospects if the number of women representatives increases. First, an increase in the number of women relative to men can lead to coalitions between women and can affect the culture of the group. Second, with an increase in number, women can begin to become individuals differentiated from one another. Third, with an increase in their absolute number, despite few changes in

their relative number, women can develop supportive alliances and affect the culture of the group so long as they are “feminist” or “women-identified-women” (Kanter, 1977b). On an emphatic note Reynolds and Phillips conclude that women’s absence from representation is not a mere sign of disadvantage and disenfranchisement but also an exclusion from positions of decision-making (Reynolds, 1999; Phillips, 1995).

In spite of these strengths, critical mass perspective is open to challenge as being unrealistic in its expectation that considerable change can only occur when women’s representation has reached a critical mass. This is not necessarily true because sometimes a small number of women or an individual woman can bring policy change in legislation or sometimes policy changes do not occur even with an increase in the number of women (Childs, 2004; Childs and Krook, 2009). Likewise, Childs and Krook (2006a) challenge critical mass thinking on the basis that there is neither a single nor a universal relationship between percentages of women in decision-making organs and the passage of legislative bills beneficial to women as a group as theorized by the critical mass approach.

Another challenge to critical mass thinking is that it borrows ideas from nuclear physics, which theorizes that a certain quantity is required to start a chain reaction in a process of isolated entities or rooms. Dahlerup (1988) argues that the nuclear physics thinking is inappropriate and inapplicable to the social sciences where every entity interacts with its surrounding. Equally important is the criticism that critical mass relies on the assumption that an increase in women’s numbers will automatically lead to increase in women’s influence in governance and thus result in policy changes in support of women. This argument is flawed because women live in different contexts and have different life experience (Dahlerup, 2006). Arguing on the same line with Dahlerup, Squires (2007) indicates that gender is not something which men and women bring with them into politics but it is produced and reproduced within a particular context. Pitkin (1967) also argues that the main challenge of critical mass approach is that it emphasises the composition of political institutions rather than its activities. Pitkin continues to argue that individuals cannot be held accountable for who they are but on what they have done or are doing.

Last but not least, an important criticism of critical mass thinking is that it overlooks the politics of participation processes. While women may want to participate in decision-making to make a difference, they may be prevented from translating their preferences into policy outcomes by various features of the political and or social context (Childs and Krook, 2006a).

Critical actor's theoretical perspective

Critical actor's literature posits that women policy change is brought about by an individual or a group of actors who act individually or as a group (Childs and Krook, 2008). Critical actors are individuals or groups of men or women who can initiate policy proposals on their own and take steps to promote policies in favour of women or play a crucial role in advancing women's policy concerns (Childs and Krook, 2006a; 2006b; Chaney, 2012). Although actors may hold attitudes similar to those of other representatives, they are much more motivated than others to initiate women friendly policy reforms and may stimulate other actors in setting pro women motions. As such, it is not the actors' strength in numbers so much as the role they play that matters (Chaney, 2012). A small number of actors or individual actors may join together in legislative caucuses and promote women policy changes with greater success (Childs and Krook, 2009).

In other words, critical actors thinking focuses on what specific actors do to represent women's concerns and how substantial representation of women occurs (Childs and Krook, 2009; Celis et al., 2008). Therefore, it is important to consider the following questions when identifying a critical actor. Who initiates policy proposals on women issues or gendered policy concerns? Who acts on these policy proposals? Do the actors act individually or as part of a larger group? Who do they cooperate with and on what basis, purpose or duration? How do they set out to archive policy change? Do they provoke resistance or backlash and do they archive policy change? (Childs and Krook, 2009). In answering these questions, the critical actors approach helps us to understand and identify critical actors and makes it easier to assess their role as representatives. The approach is useful in the analysis of legislators' legislative behaviour when they depart from uniform expectations and women's number. It also helps to deal with the strict definition of identities of female legislators by relaxing overly restrictive analytical frames regarding the form and content of women's actions (ibid).

Childs and Krook (2009) argue that the critical actors approach is suitable for studying human behaviour in social sciences. They consider critical actors as having the ability to influence gender equality and institutional policies. They strongly believe that critical actors are in a better position than a critical mass to effect change in a society.

However, the critical actors' perspective is limited to understanding the role of critical actors in the process of representation. The approach also depends on the willingness and ability of an individual or a group of actors to mobilize resources in order to bring about policy changes concerning women and overlook the politics of representation. This is because sometimes an actor may have the ability to represent women's concerns but s/he may not be willing to do so because of factors such as party identity, sex or cultural ties that may constrain her or him from participating as a critical actor (Childs and Krook, 2006a).

Women descriptive representation

The women descriptive representation framework follows a line of thinking similar to that of the critical mass theoretical perspective. According to the literature, women descriptive representation is concerned with the extent to which participants, in this case representatives, stand for the represented by virtue of resemblance of sharing characteristics and experience (Pitkin, 1967). Within the descriptive representation thinking, a representative "mirrors" or is "a transcript" of the represented. To illustrate the argument for descriptive participation, Pitkin quotes John Adam's work in which he writes that a legislature should be *an exact portrait in miniature of the people at large and it should think, feel, reason and act like them* (Pitkin, 1967:60). Therefore, descriptive representation considers representation in terms of the accurate correspondence or resemblance of what is being represented (Pitkin, 1967; Phillips, 1995).

Mansbridge emphasizes that within descriptive representation, representatives are typically an image of the larger class of persons whom they represent (Mansbridge, 1999). The main standpoint of women descriptive representation is the achievement of a reflection of more or less mathematical exactness of various divisions in the electorate. In this regard, resemblance, reflection, accurate correspondences are indispensable in a legislature and without them no true representation is possible (Phillips, 1995). Typically, women descriptive representation thus suggests that the number of representatives and their characteristics should be proportional to the population numbers of the represented. The thesis argument to this account is that those with similar characteristics will hold relatively the same interest to be politically represented and that the more they correspond to their population numbers the more likelihood that their interests would be balanced in the policy decisions (Phillips, 1995). Phillips continues to attest that the sex of representatives matters in terms of how they act,

even when this is not the only factor that is important. At the same time the greater descriptive representation empowers and mobilizes disadvantaged groups (Dovi, 2002; Phillips, 1995).

Nevertheless, women descriptive representation perspective is challenged on the grounds that the proportionality of numbers may not be of much relevance for those who consider representation as a function of issues to be represented (Childs and Krook, 2006a). Equally important, the argument concerning similarity in characteristics between the representatives and represented is also challenged as being highly hypothetical because many social groups are internally diverse and may differ from other groups (Dahlerup, 2006). Any representatives regardless of their population characteristics and numbers who have the ability to conceive and deliberate the issues therefore can participate as a representative. Moreover, Celis et al. (2008) point out two main weakness of women descriptive representation approach. The first is that it focuses only on women representatives and at the same time ignores important differences among women. The second is that it overlooks the role of men as potential actors on behalf of women as a group.

Women substantive representation

Closely related to the critical actors approach is the women substantive representation perspective which emphasizes making a difference in participation. The literature shows that women substantive representation focuses on the role of participants and activity of participation (Pitkin, 1967; Childs and Krook, 2009; Celis et al., 2008). Pitkin thus considers representation as “a certain characteristic activity, defined by certain behavioural norms or certain things a representative is expected to do” (Pitkin, 1967:112). She regards it as a substantive activity in which representatives act for, speak for, or look after interests of their respective group (p.114). In this perspective therefore, representation is ascribed to the action of the representatives rather than their characteristics. Therefore proponents of the women substantive representation argue that it is more productive to focus on what actors do than assume women actors represent women concerns (Childs and Krook, 2009).

The women substantive representation approach appears to have attracted the greatest attention from scholars on the subject of participation and gender because it focuses on “activity” or “issues” (Celis et al., 2008; Lovenduski, 2005). This is a challenge because, if representation concerns the “activity” or “issues” what is the core argument for having social

groups represented rather than specialized persons-such as professionals-who may have wider knowledge and experiences on such activities or issues? From the existing literature supporting women substantive representation we are made to understand women are often integrated in the legislatures on account of representing women interests. Women are presumed to be specialists in their own interests based on their social experiences and knowledge. It is theorized that women have special needs and interests they would like to be represented including such issues as gender social relations and child welfare, community health services, and production and the environment. Anne Phillips observes that male and female politicians often reveal distinctly gendered political interests with women expressing concerns about education, welfare, and the environment whilst men claim affinity to the economy, industry, energy and foreign affairs (Phillips, 1995). Arguments from scholars like Raaum (1995) related to the gender division of labour suggest that women in political representation possess distinct areas of knowledge and experiences. Sapiro, in agreement with the above assertions, regards “women issues” as “Public concerns that impinge primarily on the private (especially domestic) sphere of social life and particularly those values associated with children and nurturance” (Sapiro, 1981:703). Such theoretical views suggest that women representatives are considered to be experienced and supportive of issues that affect them. In respect to this, Anne Phillips observes that:

Women have distinct interests in relation to child bearing and also have particular interests arising from their exposure to sexual harassment and violence as well as their exclusion from most arenas of political power (Phillips,1995:67).

Women’s interests may originate from moral development and socialization experiences; hormonal and physiological differences that dictate some behaviours and abilities. Sometimes they emerge from circumstances of environment including the legal system, and the existing political structures, social and economic status, and training and experiences (Celis et al., 2008; Diamond and Hartsok, 1981; Norris, 1996). Nevertheless, women may have similar interests in some instances but the interests may also diverge due to a multiplicity of overlapping characteristics amongst women sub-groups, between women and men and between women and other social categories. It is unlikely therefore that women representatives will entirely act for their fellow women when elected into political legislatures on the account of their nature and experiences. It is on the other hand possible to have women

representing interests beyond their own in response to wishes of the represented who may not necessarily be their fellow women.

Women in Development approach

Participation and gender discourse can also be explained using the Women in Development (WID) approach. WID approach was developed in the early 1970s by Washington based female development professionals and started as a movement to demand social justice and equity among women (Tinker, 1990; Koczberski, 1998). The professionals were challenging the development theories which were dominant at that time by arguing that modernization was impacting differently on men and women. Instead of improving the status of women and their rights, the development process appeared to be contributing to the deterioration of women's position manifested by an absence of women in development. Therefore, the Women in Development approach was an attempt to "add" women to development so as to address the problem of women's absence in development (Gallin et al., 1993; Moser, 1993; Jahan, 1995; Fopahunda, 2012).

WID approach argues that women's disadvantages originate within stereotypes and customary expectations held by men and internalized by women at the same time promoted through various institutions of socialization (Pajvančić-Cizelj, 2011; Moser, 1993). It postulates that women's disadvantages can in principle be eliminated by breaking down these stereotypes. This can be done by introducing equal opportunity programs or legislations and fighting against legislation which discriminates against women (Moser, 1993). Similarly, WID advocates reject the narrow view of women's roles as mothers and wives who are characterized as need beneficiaries. Instead, WID supporters argue that women are productive members of society, therefore they need not be treated as passive members recipient of welfare programme benefits but rather as active contributors to development. The WID approach insists that if women are brought into the productive sphere they would not only make positive contribution to development but they would also improve their status in relation to men (Tinker, 1990). Likewise if women have access to credit, their productivity will also increase leading to a positive impact on development (Moser, 1993).

The WID approach is subject to a number of criticisms. First, it has not gone beyond the notions of introducing equal opportunities and "adding" women in development. Second, the

approach ignores different dynamics such as the power relations between men and women that may determine women's fight to eliminate stereotypes against women (Razavi and Miller, 1995).

Third, WID arguments emphasise that women are the problem implying that women need special treatment; this instead of focusing on gender discrimination/relations as a problem. Fourth, the WID approach focuses on women in isolation and so overlooks the role of men in women's productivity. Elson (1991) strongly argues that problems of women in development cannot be solved in isolation from men and the issues of gender relations. The fifth challenge of WID is that it emphasizes economic empowerment as a strategy for gender equity, assuming that economic empowerment will automatically lead to gender equality without analyzing other factors such as norms and values as well as power relations that may impede the attainment of gender equality. These flaws on WID approach informed the Gender and Development approach.

Gender and Development approach

The Gender and Development (GAD) approach emerged in the 1980s as an attempt to move away from the WID approach (Razavi and Miller, 1995; Kingsbury et al., 2008; Fopahunda, 2012). GAD stresses the need to consider both women and men in addressing discrimination against and the marginalization of women in a gender context. GAD's standpoint is that solving the problem of women's discrimination without men is impossible (Elson, 1991). Ostergaard argues that:

No study of women and development can start from the viewpoint that the problem is women, but rather men and women, and more specifically the relations between them (Ostergaard, 1992: 6).

The GAD approach therefore argues that the value of symbolic analysis of gender lies in understanding how men and women are socially constructed and how those constructions are powerfully reinforced by social activities that both define and are defined by them (Kingsbury et al., 2008). GAD advocates that maleness and femaleness are outcomes of cultural ideologies rather than inherent quality or physiology (Razavi and Miller, 1995). It is culture

that determines gender ideologies by defining rights and responsibilities as well as appropriate behavior for women and men. Not only that, gender ideologies also influence access to and control over resources and participation in decision-making. These gender ideologies are often reinforced by male power and women's inferiority complex and sometimes interpreted narrowly as 'custom' or 'tradition', and assumed to be natural and unchangeable, and as such are sources of women subordination (Kingsbury et al., 2008).

The GAD approach insists that the social construction of gender identity attempts to demonstrate the concrete materiality of gender subordination as it is constructed by the rules and practices of different institutions such as state, community or household. This is contested by Branisa et al.(2013) who argue that gender relations do not operate in a social vacuum but are products of the ways in which institutions are organized and reconstructed. It is the institutions that guide human behavior and at the same time shape human interactions which eventually may become a source of gender inequality. Similarly institutions, often informal institutions, shape people's everyday lives by setting standards that people are obliged to fulfill and satisfy. GAD therefore advocates a necessary re-examination of institutions in order to deal with women's subordination (Rathgeber, 1989).

An important contribution to the GAD approach was made by Moser (1993) who made the distinction between women's practical needs and strategic needs and highlighted the interrelationships between women's different roles-reproductive, productive and community management. According to Moser, women's practical needs are those which have resulted from their current subordinate position and might include assistance in areas such as education and improved health care. But women's strategic needs are those which might help to transform their situation. These might include legal reform to remove gender discrimination, an end to violence against women and more politically aware, active and better organized women. Such changes may contribute to an end to women's subordination (Kingsbury et al., 2008).

Nevertheless, the GAD approach is challenged on the grounds that it treats women as homogeneous group despite differences among women. This has implication in instituting corrective measures to women's concerns by assuming that all women have similar problems. For instance, Parpart (2001) and Rathgeber (1989) argue that GAD has not been successful in grounding development in the experience and familiarity of local women in the developing countries. It has also failed to explain why people behave differently despite the fact that they

live in the same context and are subjected to fulfill or satisfy similar institutions. This calls for a need to go beyond treating women as one group so as to explore insights into why women often respond passively towards an issue. GAD is also challenged as providing a limited explanation of gender inequality based on gender relations and assumes that once the problem of gender relations is solved, it will automatically lead to gender equality. It does not go beyond women's inequality or discrimination and shows outcomes that women can achieve if discrimination is solved. In other words GAD still paints women as passive recipients and not proactive actors in development (Kingsbury et al., 2008).

Participation and gender equality

While noting the theoretical discussions about the gender and development approach, the literature also shows that there has been a debate on links between participation and gender equality. On the one hand the literature argues that increasing numbers of women in governance enhances gender equality (Grey, 2006; Burkey, 1993). Supporting this argument Rule and Zimmerman (1997) argue that a parliament would fail to recognize or comprehend issues of great importance to women in society if there were few women members in the parliament. This argument is in line with the critical mass argument which emphasizes that women's interests can only be represented by women. Therefore limited numbers of women leads to limited representation of women's interests consequently resulting in gender inequality. This line of thinking limits itself to understanding that women represent women which may not always be the case.

Contributing to the discussion about participation and gender equality, the European Network of Experts (1997) noted that a balanced representation of women and men at all levels of decision-making guarantees better government. This is because of their history as a group, women have their own and unique perspective. They also have different values and ideas and behave differently. Therefore an increase in women's participation in decision-making creates a new culture and sheds new light on how power should be exercised. This is again subject to criticism because it ignores forces that may affect women's participation in decision-making.

Chowdhury (1994) offers five reasons why women's participation is necessary for gender equality. First, it is a question of democracy and equality as well as civil rights that emphasizes the demand for proportional representation of women. Second, women's

insignificant presence in politics raises questions about the legitimacy of the democratic process and of decision-making authorities. Third, women are well informed and experienced about their basic problems and needs, therefore they will be deprived of equal shares if they are disproportionately represented in decision-making. Fourth, women's participation in politics and decision-making bodies facilitates more changes for defending their interests. Fifth, women should be increasingly allowed access to the political sphere for the purpose of enhancing efficiency and the utilization of human resources. Chowdhury's arguments do not indicate how democracy and equality as well as efficiency will be attained through women's participation.

On the other hand some commentators oppose the first argument that links participation and gender equality (Mayoux, 1995; Goetz, 2009). They argue that gender equality is a complex issue that cannot be addressed by simply increasing the numbers of women in decision-making. Mayoux (1995) argues that addressing gender equality involves a wide range of interconnected factors such as power relations between different actors, individual factors and incentives which cannot be addressed by increasing women numbers alone.

It is important therefore to take into account how people participate before arguing for a link between participation and gender equality. Sometimes a large number of people can be involved in an activity but if they are only informed after decisions have been made, their participation remains limited. Robert Chambers states that:

All too often participation proclaimed on the platform becomes appropriation and privilege when translated into action in the field. This should scarcely be surprising, except to those who, for ideological reasons or because they are simple minded or more commonly known from a combination of these causes, reify "the people" and "participation" and push them beyond the reach of empirical analysis (Chambers, 1974:109).

Related to how is the why question. The literature suggests that when considering the link between participation and gender equity, it is important to consider why people participate in the way that they do. For instance, sometimes women may have reasons other than gender equality for participation in governance. Likewise, others may participate while being gender blind (Cornwall, 2008). It is also suggested that women may sometimes participate to attain gender equality but it can rarely be achieved due to underlying aspects of subordination such

as domestic violence and restrictions on female mobility (Mayoux, 1995). Similarly, Chambers (1995) insists that gender equality can only be achieved through transforming ideological and cultural systems. This is due to the fact that most women have an internalized idea of appropriate types of behaviour towards men and women. For instance, most women have an internalized idea of being inferior to men (Moore, 2001). The arguments for and against linking participation and gender equality are centred on balancing numbers of women and men as key component of gender equality.

1.3 Focus and scope of the study

The analysis of participation and gender often focuses on numbers and the role of actors. I argue that while such analysis is important, it does not guarantee a detailed understanding of participation and gender. This is because women are a diverse group that experience different forces of marginalization. Therefore, drawing from the above theoretical arguments, I intend in this study to expand the understanding of participation and gender by going beyond women's numerical participation. In this study, I will focus on how women participate, the dynamics of their participation as well as the effects of their participation beyond numbers. In my view, none of the theoretical arguments have gone far enough to enrich our understanding of women's participation in governance. I intend to consider two distinct women categories found in the study area: pastoral and non-pastoral women. The main reasons for the choice of these categories are threefold. First, they are found living within the same study area and represent two main economic activities found in the study area. Second, the two groups have different cultural life experiences as well as interests (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). Third, pastoral women are subjected to strong patriarchal system that offers male dominance over women. In addition, pastoral women lead a nomadic way of life. I became interested in understanding the women's experience in decentralized local governance under such mode of life compared to that of non-pastoral women. Therefore considering the differences among the women groups found in the area helps us to better understand in detail the experience of women's participation in governance.

1.4 Research Questions

Considering the focus of the study and the presented theoretical perspective and discussions as well as the purpose of this study, this section presents research questions for the study.

Punch (2005) indicates that research questions are central to a study and essential for directing a research project by drawing the boundaries of a research project. Research questions thus enable a researcher to remain focused during the entire research project period. Through research questions, the researcher is guided to obtain relevant data and providing an agenda for research project report writing (Kothari, 2004). In view of the above, the main research question in this study is: What are pastoral and non-pastoral women's experiences in participation within a decentralized local governance beyond numbers? The main research question breaks down into three sub questions as enumerated below:

The first aspect of this study concerns how pastoral women and non-pastoral women's participation within decentralized local governance. The relevant question is: *how are pastoral and non-pastoral women participating in decentralized local governance?* The main focus in this question is to obtain information about the women's participation beyond numbers within decentralized local governance focusing on the following variables: voting, vying for leadership positions and campaigning, attendance to meetings, public protest, debate, and information seeking. The variables are commonly used to measure political participation (Verbal et al.,1995).

Secondly, this study explores the different dynamics behind pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in local governance. Therefore the relevant research question is: *Why do pastoral and non-pastoral women participate in the way they do?* The underlying idea of this question is to obtain information on different factors that motivate or demotivate women's participation in decentralized local governance.

Lastly, the study examines the implications of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance. In this case the relevant research question is: *What are the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance?* The aim is to establish the effects of women's participation in decentralized local governance. The effects of women's participation may be many, however, for the purpose of this study we intend to focus on the effects that concern setting of agenda, changes in priorities, decisions on different domains as well as changes in service delivery.

Significance of the study

The current study provides a realistic account of women's participation in governance beyond numbers in Tanzania and is therefore significant. The account helps policy makers by providing the comprehensive information required for addressing issues of women participation in governance in Tanzania.

Likewise the significance of this study in relation to policy is linked to the ongoing process of writing a new constitution of Tanzania. The study will provide some policy insight into the existing gaps in the constitution concerning women participation. It will inform constitution makers about existing gaps between theory and practice regarding women's participation in governance.

Equally, the study is significant to individual women as it delivers information on their strengths and weaknesses in participation in decision-making beyond numbers. The women can use the information to identify more opportunities in participating in decision-making at all levels of governance.

The study has also international significance as it is in line with the Beijing Platform of Action which Tanzania is party to. The platform states that:

The empowerments and autonomy of women and improvement of women's social, economic and political status are essential for the achievement of both transparent and accountable government, administration and sustainable development in all areas of life. The power relations that prevent women from leading fulfilling lives operate at many levels of society, from the most personal to the highly public. Archiving the goal of equal participation of women and men in decision-making will provide a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and is needed in order to strengthen democracy and promote its proper functioning. In these respect women equal participation in political life plays a pivotal role in the general process of the advancement of women. Women's equal participation in decision-making is not only a demand for simple justice or democracy or democracy but can only be seen as a necessary condition for women's interest to be taken into account. Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspectives at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, developments and peace cannot be achieved. Paragraph 181 of Beijing Platform for Action, World Conference on Women of 1995.

Furthermore, the study is supported by Article 9 of the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) worldwide Declaration on women in Local Government (1998), which states that:

The problem and challenges facing humanity are global but occur and have to be dealt with at the local level. Women have the equal right to freedom from poverty, discrimination, environmental degradation and security. To fight these problems and to meet the challenges of sustainable human development, it is crucial that women be empowered and involved in local government as decision makers, planners and managers (IULA,1998).

1.5 Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of six chapters. **Chapter one** provides the general introduction of the study, in which theoretical perspectives and discussions on participation and gender are presented. Within the theoretical discussions, various arguments are presented which can be summarized into two main arguments. The first argument is that women numbers matters in participation and the second argument opposes the first. The chapter also presents the focus of the study that marks a departure from the two main theoretical debates. Similarly, in the same chapter research problems and questions as well as the significance of the study are presented. The chapter ends by presenting the organization of the dissertation.

Chapter two treats the methodology of the study whereby information on research design and strategy and study area is provided. Moreover in the same chapter, information on research process, methods used to obtain, analyse and present data as well as limitations of the study are also presented.

Chapter three explores the literature and discussions as well as existing gaps in the literature about participation, women's participation, pastoral women's participation and decentralized local governance. In this chapter a conceptual framework for the study derived from the theoretical discussions is also presented.

Chapter four presents research results and discussion of two separate case studies arranged and organized based on the three research questions of the study. Whereas the first case study deals with pastoral women, the second case study deals with non-pastoral women. The results and discussions are also linked to theoretical viewpoints and discussions.

Chapter five contains comparative analysis of results from the case studies. The comparison is intended to reveal differences in level of participation experienced by women in the two case studies. **Chapter six** is about conclusion and recommendations drawn in relation to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

2.1 Introduction

Conducting research involves a series of interconnected activities which are done in a logical manner. These activities encompass conception of the problem which is being investigated, reviewing literature relevant to the study, data collection and analysis as well as the presentation of the collected data. In the final stages research entails discussion of research findings and drawing conclusions on the bases of the research questions and findings. Throughout the process of conducting research, a number of methods and strategies are required depending on the nature of the research or problem that is to be investigated.

Therefore in this chapter, I present the methodology¹ involved in the study that includes research design, a detailed description of the study area, sampling procedure and sample size and research clearance. Additionally, I describe methods used to obtain and analyse data at the same time I provide justification for selecting and use of the method. The aim of this chapter is to show the overall approach used to obtain information for the study.

2.2 Research design

Research design is a plan describing how, when and where data will be collected and analysed. It entails the orientation of the study as a whole (Walliman, 2006). According to Creswell, research designs are categorized into three broad categories which are; quantitative, qualitative designs as well as mixed designs (Creswell, 2003). Whereas Quantitative design focuses on testing theory and hypothesis, qualitative design aims at developing theory and generating knowledge. Mixed research design is the combination of qualitative and quantitative research designs. It should however be noted that research designs are selected depending on the goal and type of the study as well as study settings. In view of that, this study employs qualitative case study research design. This design is useful for descriptive studies as it is flexible and allows the incorporation of various methods of data collection and

¹Is a general approach to studying a research topic which includes how the research is carried out and procedures involved in exploring or describing phenomena (Silverman, 2000).

is suitable for answering “why” and “how” questions, which constitutes the key questions in this study. Moreover, the design is worthwhile for understanding a social or human problem and obtaining detailed views from informants in a natural setting. Similarly qualitative case study designs are very useful in studies where limited information exists in a phenomenon (Walliman, 2006; Creswell, 2003). The two case studies selected formed unit of analysis for the study.

2.3 Description of the study area

This study was conducted in Kondoa district, one of the five districts of the Dodoma Region of Tanzania². The district has been randomly selected from the first 38 districts which started to implement the Local Government Reform Programme. The reform aimed at decentralizing governance in order to enhance citizen’s participation in decision-making (URT, 2008). It should however be noted that in 2012 Kondoa district was divided into two districts namely Kondoa and Chemba districts. Therefore all information in this study will refer to the Kondoa district before being subdivided into two districts. Kondoa district (Map 1) is located in the north of Dodoma region 160 km from the capital town, Dodoma a four hour bus journey. It lies between latitude 4° 12” to 5° 38, 5” south, and longitude 35° 6” to 36° 2 east. A large part of the district is located within a plateau rising gradually from 900 m above sea level to 2,190m above sea level. In the north, the district borders Babati district, while in Northeast Simanjiro district and Kiteto district in the east. In the southwest, Kondoa boards Manyoni district, whereas in the west Kondoa borders Singida district. In northwest, Kondoa borders Hanang district and Dodoma Rural and Kongwa districts in the South³. A large part of Kondoa district is located within a plateau rising gradually from 900m above sea level to 2,190m above sea level and is in semi-arid belt, characterized by two main seasons namely; wet and dry seasons. The wet season starts in December and ends in April- May with a dry spell in February. The dry season lasts from June to October. The coldest month in the year is June and the hottest months are August to October. Road service is the main mode of transport in the area and all the roads are weather roads.

According to the 2002 Tanzania National Census, the population of the Kondoa district was 428,090 [male 246,957 (49%) and female 252,451 (51%)] with an average growth rate of

²Unlike most of the countries in Africa, Tanzania has been experiencing steady increase in number of women in decision-making organs for the past ten years. Pastoralism is one of the dominant livelihood system in Tanzania (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008).

³ Kondoa District Council Socio-economic profile, 2012.

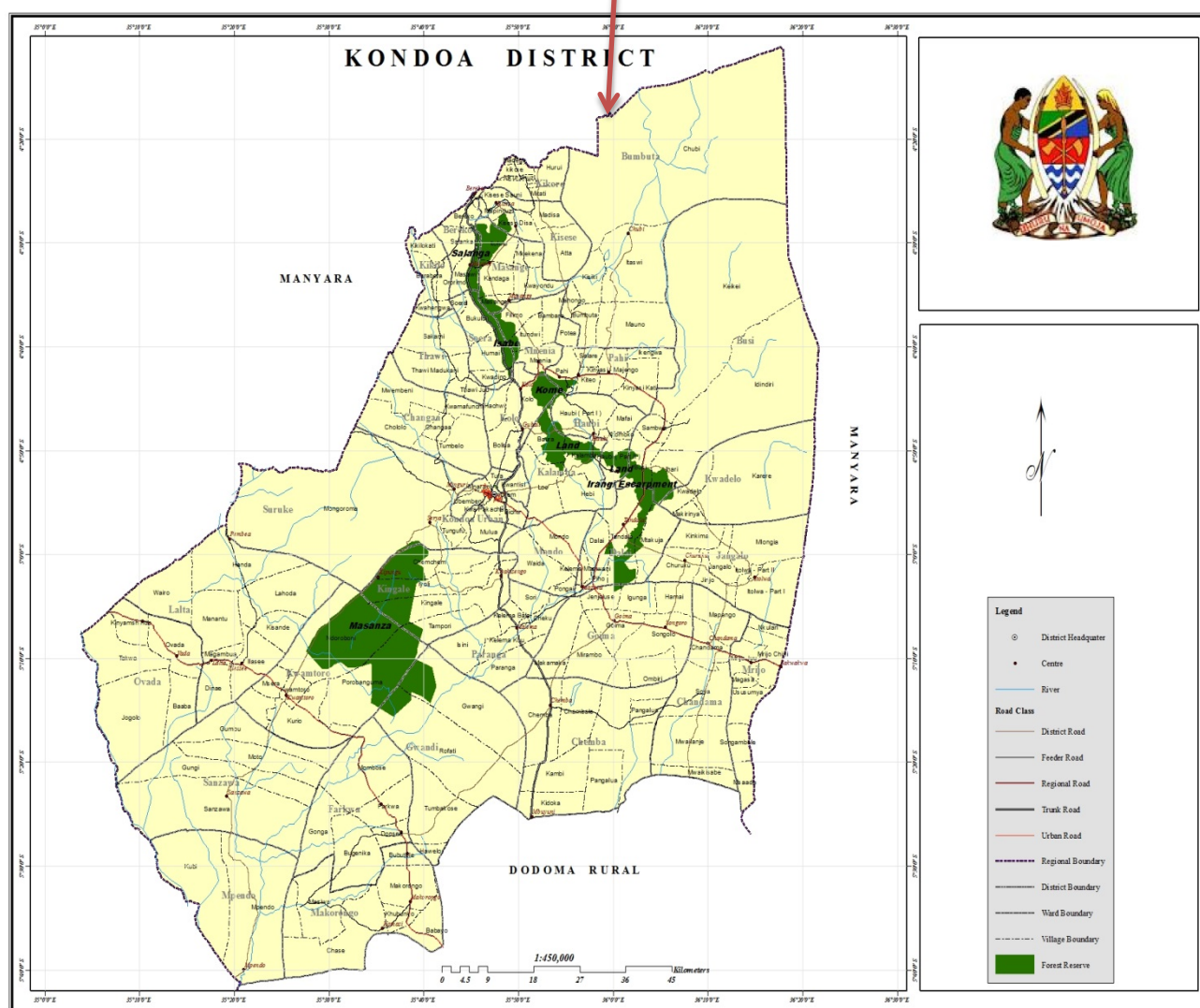
1.64% (URT, 2002). The average size of a household is 4.7 persons. Population density is 1:30 sq. km while the total area of the district is 13,210 sq. km. Administratively Kondoia district has 35 Wards and 177 Villages⁴. The district has over ten ethnic groups, the dominant groups being, Sandawe, Rangi, Gogo, Balbaic, Nyaturu and Maasai with economic activities ranging from crop production, livestock, small business, hunting and honey collection. Crop production and rearing livestock are the main economic activities in Kondoia practiced the ethnic groups in rural areas of Kondoia. Whereas livestock keeping is the main economic activity for the Maasai, Balbaic and Gogo ethnic groups, crop cultivation is dominant among Sandawe, Rangi and Nyaturu ethnic groups. According to the 2004 livestock census, the district has a total of 676,090 livestock comprising 409,138 cattle, 212,536 goats, 38,393 sheep, 5,587 pigs and,10, 436 donkeys⁵.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.



Map 1. Map of Kondo District showing Administrative Villages in the District © H. Misafi



2.4 Sampling procedure and sample size

In this study I employed a multistage sampling procedure with five stages as follows. The first stage was the district level. At this stage two wards, Gwandi and Mrijo wards were randomly selected. The second stage was the ward level, whereby two villages from each selected ward were randomly selected. The villages selected were Rofati and Gwandi from the Gwandi ward, while from the Mrijo ward, Obloloti and Magasa villages were selected. From the villages 10 women (5 pastoral women⁶ and 5 non-pastoral women⁷ were randomly selected) in each village. Apart from the women, all chairpersons and village Executive Officers in the villages were also selected. In addition, the District Chairperson and District Executive Director, the two constituent Members of Parliament in the district were also included in the sample. Moreover, the sample size consisted of the two women Ward Councilors (from Gwandi and Mrijo wards) nominated under special seat to represent women in the District Council. This made a total sample size of 52⁸. The sampling procedure and sample size selection was done in consultation with the District, Ward and Village leaders aided by the district map.

2.5 Research clearance

Permission to carry out this study was granted by the Kondoa District Executive Director through a formal letter which was addressed to all Ward and Village Executive Officers in the District. The aim of the letter was to introduce me to the officers and respondents and grant permission to conduct the research. It was essential for me to obtain permission to carry out the study as it was a requirement in Tanzania for all researchers to obtain permission from the relevant authorities before embarking on any research work. Thus, it was obligatory for me to carry the letter during the entire period of fieldwork and produce it whenever it was required.

⁶Women born and brought up in a society whose main livelihood system depends on livestock keeping. Typical pastoralist society is “nomadic.” People live in portable tents or temporary structures and move considerable distances from pasture to pasture according to the dictates of ecological circumstances and the needs of the beasts. Most of the women involved in this study were married and had not attained formal education. A few women were divorcees/separated, widowed and attained primary education.

⁷Refers to any woman except pastoral women. Most of non-pastoral women involved in this study were married and had at least primary education. A few women were single.

⁸The selection sample and determining of sample size is based on literature which suggest that there is no hard and fast rule in qualitative research on sample size (Travers, 2001).

2.6 Setting the scene and research tools

Before embarking on actual fieldwork, I toured the District so as to have a general picture/mapping of the study area and introduced myself to the relevant authorities. The mapping started on 13th September 2010 and lasted for five days covering 10 wards which are Mondo, Dalai, Sanzawa, Farkwa, Makorongo, Gwandi, Mrijo, Goima, Kingale and Suruke. These wards were randomly picked using the District Map and in consultation with District officers. After the mapping was completed, I moved to station at Gwandi ward which is about 80 km from the district council headquarters. At Gwandi, I went to report at the ward office and met the Ward Executive Officer, Ward Councilor (Women Special Seat) and Village Executive Officer for Gwandi village. With the help of the Ward Councilor, I managed to secure a house to rent in Gwandi village, located within Gwandi ward where I stationed before moving to Olboloti village located in Mrijo ward. I had to shift from Gwandi to Olboloti village because, the two villages were geographically far apart from each other and therefore it was not possible to operate in Olboloti village from Gwandi Village. Similar arrangements of securing a house in Gwandi were also made in Olboloti village, with a help of the Village Ward Executive Officer for Mrijo ward.

After settling in and before the actual data collection process could start, I identified research assistants in each village with the help of village executive officers. These assistants also served as interpreters during the fieldwork. Selection of the research assistants was based on education level, ability to understand Kiswahili language and some experience in research. In this regard, I recruited four research assistants, one from each village selected.

Then, I had to explain in detail the overall objective of the research to each selected research assistant. Almost all the research assistants had no questions to ask after being given the explanations except for the research assistant from Rofati village. This research assistant demanded explanations on how the research would directly benefit the villagers in general and women in particular. I provided the explanations to the research assistant and recruitment process went on. After completing the recruitment process and settling in the villages, data collection activities started using semi-structured interviews, participant observation, key informant interviews and focus group discussions data collection tools.

Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interview is a qualitative research technique used to collect data through setting up a context that provides interviewees time and room to talk about their opinion regarding a particular subject. Very often semi-structured interviews are determined by a researcher depending on the interest of the information to be collected by the researcher (De Fina and Perrino, 2011). I employed a semi-structured interview in this study because it allows for several questions to be asked to an interviewee with a wide range of coverage of an area to be explored. Equally important, semi-structured interviews provide the space for an interviewee to provide in-depth responses and be able to reveal meanings behind an action. The tool is also known to be an appropriate and widely used research instrument to express an individual's experience, attitude or inner feelings of reality (De Fina and Perrino, 2011; Gill et al., 2008).

During the study, interviews were conducted starting at 6 am in the morning and ending at around 6pm. However, there was no fixed time and place for the interviews, that depended on a respondent's availability and time. In non-pastoralist households for instance, interviews were held starting at around 7 am as most of non-pastoralist women had fewer commitments in the morning compared to pastoralist women who had several commitments in the morning such as milking and tending to sick animals, duties which required them to wake before 6 am.

Similarly, the location and venue for interviews depended on the interviewee's preference. Some interviews were conducted in the respondents' houses while others in farms. However, most of the interviews were conducted in respondents' homes (Figure 1). For those who were not in the mood or ready to be interviewed, arrangements were made for them to be visited on days/time convenient to them.



It was a norm during the study that before talking to someone's wife, a research assistant had to ask for the husband⁹, then explain to the husband the purpose of our visit and request for the husband's permission to allow me have an interview with the wife.

Figure 1. The researcher conducting interviews in one of the respondent's home ©H.Misafi

⁹Traditionally a husband is a head of household who reserves mandate of permitting his wife or wives to talk to another man especially from outside pastoral society.

The husband having understood and agreed the purpose of the visit, called his wife /wives and gave permission for them to talk to us, the research team. In households where male spouses were not present, I quickly introduced the matter to the respondents (guided by the research assistant) by briefly explaining to interviewees, the purpose of the research team's visit and the overall objective of the research. This was also done in the case of respondents who were widows or divorced.

During the study, I had conversations with interviewees and was keen in following interviewee's narrations while generating questions in response to the interviewees' narration. The conversations were coupled with informal talks sometimes unrelated to the research topic so as to bring intimacy and to relieve any tension the interviewee might feel. The informal talks were mostly conducted with respondents who were knowledgeable in Kiswahili. For those respondents who were not conversant in Kiswahili, only formal talks dominated the conversations focusing mainly on the research topic. During both the formal and informal conversations, I had to rely on my memory to recall the conversations and sometimes I used tape recorders and note books to record interviewees' narrations. The use of tape recorders was however done after getting consent from interviewees.

At the end of the interviews, I thanked an interviewee for sparing her/his time in responding to the questions. Thereafter both I and the research assistant moved on to another household depending on time available on that particular day.

Through interviews, I was able to obtain data on reasons, barriers and contributing factors for women's participation. Interviews also helped me to obtain data on women's personal expressions on why the women participated in the ways that they did.

Participant observations

Participant observation is commonly used and is deemed an appropriate research method for qualitative studies due to the following: first, it provides researchers with ways to check for the non-verbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, grasp how participants communicate with each other, and checks for how much time is spent on various activities. Second, the method allows researchers to observe events that informants may be unable or unwilling to share when doing so would be impolitic, impolite, or insensitive, and observe situations informants have described in interviews, thereby making them aware of

distortions or inaccuracies in descriptions provided by those informants (Kothari, 2004; Marshall and Rossman, 1995; Schmuck, 1997). Thirdly, participants' observations provides a researcher with a deeper understanding of social phenomenon than is possible using quantitative data collection tools. This is because through participation methods inner expressions, language, cultural meanings and social interactions can be easily understood (Silverman, 2000).

Lastly, participant observation enables a researcher to understand an individual's natural behavior and verify the truth of statements made by the individuals during interviews or focus group discussions (Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002). The method is also useful for answering descriptive research questions and for theory building (Bogdewic, 1992).

In this study, I employed the participant observation method so as to understand physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which the women lived; the relationships among and women and men, contexts, ideas, norms, and events as well as men and women's behaviors. The tool was also used to understand what women do, how frequently and with whom they interact. The method was very useful in obtaining detailed information about the women's behavior in both case studies, particularly in the pastoral women case study. This is because pastoralists live mainly in the bush and have a strong, unique culture which required close contact to understand. Therefore, I had to stay for some time in pastoralists' huts when following interviews' conversations and observing their activities. In that way, I was able to develop a familiarity with the women's cultural milieu that helped me to understand the women's cultural patterns and how they related to their participation in decision-making.

As a way of enhancing familiarity and contact, I sometimes had lunch together with respondents and sometimes tried to speak their vernaculars for the purpose of reducing both personal and a social distance between me and participants. Additionally, I made informal and formal visits to respondents' places of domicile and held informal talks with household members irrespective of their age and sex for the purpose of becoming more familiar with participants and learning more about their activities and how the activities affected women's participation in decision-making (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Informal visit to respondents' homes ©H.Misafi

In addition, I participated in four village assembly meetings, one from each of the villages studied, two women's group meetings and several informal meetings in social clubs where local brew was sold.

The aim was to observe the women's participation in meetings by looking at the positions they take in the meetings and contributions they make during meetings. The informal meetings helped me gain a sense of the cultural context of the societies in general, this by holding talks with both men and women in a recreational setting. To gain more familiarity with participants a local brew of about a liter or two was sometimes brought to a group of people who were drinking in a social club.

I also applied the participant observer approach to observe socio-economic relationships among men and women by interacting, following different activities which were going on during monthly auction markets¹⁰. Similarly, I participated in two seasonal markets organized in Gwandi, and Olboloti villages. Rofati's market day was combined with that of Gwandi because the two villages were close to each other. Magasa village had no such arrangement, however, most of its residents were observed going to Mrijo Juu, a nearest township for shopping.

I also used the method to observe the women's feelings and body language towards participation in local governance by looking at the way participants talked and their overall participation in focus group discussions. Photographs were taken after getting consent from participants and copies of the photographs were taken back to the participants by research assistants.

Focus group discussion

Focus group discussions are carefully planned group discussions designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening environment. They are usually conducted with approximately seven to ten people guided by a skilled interviewer.

¹⁰ These are seasonal market (auction market mainly for livestock and livestock products) which operated monthly on rotational basis in each ward within the District. During the market, people from different parts of the district and regions in the country, meet at a specified area to sell or buy livestock and or livestock products. On the same day, items for domestic use such as salt, cloths, sugar are also sold and bought which attract women's attendance to the market. Sometimes women use the market to sell and buy women related goods such as clay pots, beads and basket.

These discussions are usually stress-free, comfortable and often enjoyable for participants as they share their ideas and perceptions about the subject matter. Similarly, group members influence each other by responding to ideas and comments in the discussion (Krueger and Casey, 2000).

Likewise, focus group discussion is known to be a useful method for studying broad cultural issues and it enhances the quality of data as there may be consensus or a diversity of opinion among participants regarding the subject. Lastly the focus group discussions method allows for much flexibility in questioning participants. The flexibility can reveal more specific and detailed meaning than other research methods such as questionnaires or structured interviews (Kruger, 1988; Patton, 2002; Vervisch, 2009).

Considering the above merits of the focus group discussions approach, I employed the approach which involved a series of processes before the actual focus group discussion was held. The first process was to identify participants for the focus group discussions. I selected participants with the help of research assistants based on participants' level of understanding of the Kiswahili language, availability and readiness for the discussions.

At least one week's notice was given to focus group discussion participants about the discussions and the participants determined the location and time for the discussions. Most of the participants preferred Sunday afternoon as the best time for conducting the discussions as the majority indicated that they had enough time on Sunday afternoons.

There were four focus group discussions conducted in the selected villages during the study. The groups comprised of women of different ages in order to obtain a range of responses about participation in local governance.

The first focus group discussion was conducted in Rofati village, comprised of 7 participants and was held under one of the trees located near by the village headquarters. The place was a common and convenient meeting place for the women. However, the discussions were often disturbed by people who were passing nearby along the main road connecting Chemba and Farkwa townships.

The second focus group discussion was held in Gwandi Village and involved 9 participants. In Gwandi, the discussion was held at a ground located near by the village water pump. The choice of place for the discussion was arrived at through the recommendations of the

participants who stated that it would be easier and more convenient for them to come for discussions while queuing for water.

The third focus group discussion was held in Magasa Village and involved 9 participants. The discussions were held under the tree, outside the village office where normally women gathered when attending the child and maternal clinic.

The fourth focus group discussion comprised 8 participants and was held outside the ward office in Olboloti village. The Discussions were held after the researcher had attended a meeting which was organized by a women's HIV-AIDS sensitizing group based in the village. Most of members of the HIV-AIDS group formed participants of the focus group discussions which was held immediately after the meeting.

Participants in the focus group discussions were informed by the group chairperson, a day before when making announcements for the group meeting. Unlike all other focus group discussions conducted for this study, the Olboloti meeting was more active and participants were open and free to express their concerns/feelings about factors behind and barriers to participation in local governance.

In all focus group discussions, I raised a topic for discussions and requested participants to discuss and do most of the talking. During the discussions, I remained as a moderator and attentive listener while noting down answers and all information relevant for the study. The following questions were used to guide the discussions:

- 1) Why did the women participate in decentralized local governance?
- 2) Why were they not participating in decentralized local governance?

All the focus group discussions were conducted in Kiswahili language, a national language in Tanzania. To facilitate those participants who were not fluent in Kiswahili, a bi-lingual participant was asked to translate information from Kiswahili to a local language and vice versa. Before closing the discussions, participants were given the opportunity to ask questions relevant to the research.

Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews refer to a method of data collection whereby information is obtained from an individual who is considered to be particularly knowledgeable about the topic of interest (Patton, 2002 in Vervisch, 2009). Thus a key informant in this study referred to anyone who could provide detailed information and opinion based on his or her knowledge of particular issues with focus on current events reasons for those events in pastoral and non-pastoral women contexts. Equally important, a key informant was considered to be anyone who had valuable information about the effects of pastoral women and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance. In view of the above, the following individuals served as key informants for the study.

At Kondoa District Council, I conducted interviews with the District Council Chairperson and the District Executive Director as well as two Members of Parliament from the district (a man and a woman). Similarly at ward and village levels, interviews were held with chairpersons and executives of the respective wards and villages selected as well as with Ward Councilors nominated under the quota system in each ward.

2.7 Analyzing the data

Data analysis entails the whole process of inspecting, categorizing, tabulating and testing data which varies depending on the type of data to be analysed (Kohlbacher, 2005). In quantitative data the focus is on figures, whereas the overall goal of any qualitative data analysis is to deal with meanings so as to uncover underlying themes, patterns, insights and understanding (Dey, 1993; Patton, 2002; Kothari, 2004). In this study, data analysis was carried out using content qualitative analysis¹¹, presented in the form of quotations and by triangulation. Content analysis is useful for the analysis of case study data particularly heterogeneous types of data (Kohlbacher, 2005). In the analysis, words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs were considered as meaning units which were condensed according to their context and content. In addition, photographs were used to further elaborate the phenomenon observed. Also, a case by case analysis was conducted for pastoral and non-pastoral women using variables indicated in the conceptual framework as shown in section 3.12 of this thesis.

¹¹This is the technique for data analysis which involves codifying data into pre-defined categories in order to derive patterns in the presentation and reporting information which can be in a form of transcripts of interviews/discourses, protocols of observation or video tapes. In content analysis, there is an emphasis on allowing categories to emerge from the data and on recognizing the significance for understanding the meaning of the context in which an item being analyzed (Riccieri, 2004).

2.8 Limitations of the study

Studying pastoral and non-pastoral women's experiences in participation in decision-making is not an easy task especially in rural areas of Tanzania. During the fieldwork I experienced several limitations in the process of undertaking the study as indicated below:

First, I experienced language barriers in the field, especially in pastoral societies as most of the pastoralists did not know either Kiswahili, the first language of Tanzanian or English, the second language. This complicated the fieldwork exercise as it required involving indigenous research assistants who translated interview questions/discussions from Kiswahili to vernacular and vice versa. The translation exercise was not only expensive in the sense that it required paying the researcher assistants for their work, but also time consuming. Equally important, research assistants sometimes translated questions and answers rather subjectively rather than accurately.

The second limitation was poor infrastructure: generally, roads from Kondoa district to the wards and villages within the district were not easily accessible especially during rainy seasons (Figure 3). Similarly, there were no established roads to respondents' places of domicile where the majority of the respondents particularly pastoralists live. For example, I experienced some difficulties in accessing respondents in Munigamba hamlet located in Rofati village as well as some parts of Olboloti village, where the majority of pastoralists live. The challenges to gaining access to respondents sometimes created unnecessary delays to the start of a programme as the research team had to waste a lot of time in location respondents' households. Similarly, there was limited telephone communication network in some parts of Rofati and Gwandi villages and no internet service was available in any of the four villages



studied. This made me opt for physical movement as an alternative mode of communication.

Figure 3. A minibus from Kondoa District stacked on its way to Gwandi Village©H.Misafi

Last but not least, there was serious power rationing in the country (Tanzania). The power rationing very often disturbed my day-to-day plan of activities because I had limited time to spend on a computer and depended mostly on hand writing which was time consuming. This challenge was however minimized in the following year after purchasing a second laptop battery.

The third limitation was risk. I experienced a risk situation in thick forest that runs alongside a 30km stretch of the main road from Dodoma town to Kondoa District. The forest was reported to have armed bandits who attacked passing buses and rob the passengers. This situation meant that most of those who used the road (within the 30 km distance) for the first time were particularly nervous (including myself). The government arranged for every bus which uses the road, to be escorted by an armed police officer for at least the 30 km 'danger' stretch. Despite the escort, there was still tension among passengers each time the bus passed by the forest.

The fourth challenge was respondents' suspicion about me. Some respondents suspected me to be a spy who was trying to investigate certain issues under the cover of the research. Others viewed me as one of the government officials sent by the government to investigate the performance of government programmes and leaders. Routinely I had to spend a lot of time explaining the essence of the research in order to allay their suspicions.

The fifth challenge was cultural limitation. There was a cultural disparity between me as a researcher and respondents, particularly pastoralist women, which were manifested through dressing and gender. The fact that I am a man and a non-pastoralist, dressed differently from pastoralists (Figure 2) caused respondents to feel inhibited during interviews with me. This was common among pastoral women who traditionally are strictly not allowed to speak freely or have a conversation with a non-pastoralist man. Similarly, non-pastoralist women were very often reserved during interviews with me, fearing that their behavior would be interpreted as wanting to have sexual relationship with the man.

A final and significant limitation was unsettled or mobile respondents. This limitation was dominant among pastoralist societies as traditionally pastoralists move from one place to another looking for pastures. The movement which occurred within the district or sometimes away from the district affected my plan of activities as it was hard to track and make appointment with respondents. For instance it was common for me to make an appointment

for interviews or FGD and find that participants had moved to another place without notification and sometimes a new group or individuals were found in the agreed place for interviews. Interestingly, some respondents were mobile most of the time, walking from one place to another. This made me sometimes conduct interviews while walking together with a respondent.

2.9 Concluding remarks

Exploring pastoral and non-pastoral women's experiences in participation within decentralized local governance beyond statistics is complex, given the complex nature of the respondents studied. I therefore argue that qualitative research design is appropriate for the study and may yield more information due to its flexibility for incorporating various research tools. Similarly, I argue that based on the nature of the study, one data collection tool cannot adequately provide detailed information about the subject. Therefore a wide range of data collection tools were required for the study. In addition, the selection of Kondoa district as case study and pastoral and non-pastoral women case studies within the district also proved a good strategy for obtaining detailed information about women's experiences in participation in governance. Equally, the selection of case studies provided a sound base for the comparison of results, given that the women's groups live in the same area. In this chapter I indicated that some preliminary activities such as obtaining research clearance, setting the scene and the recruitment of research assistants are essential activities to be done before starting the actual data collection activities. At the end of this chapter I describe limitations I encountered during the fieldwork. I regarded these challenges as problems to be solved rather than permanent barriers to the execution of the research. In the subsequent chapter I present a conceptual overview of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

Women's participation in decentralized local governance: a conceptual overview

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores existing literature and discussions about participation in governance, women's participation, pastoral women and decentralized local governance. The chapter shows what is already known in the literature, identifies knowledge gaps and possible applications to the case of women participation, thus enhancing theoretical aspects.

In view of the above, this chapter has thirteen main sections organized as follows: the following section presents a historical overview of decentralized local governance in Tanzania. Sections 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5 deal with decentralized local governance, a historical overview of participation in governance and understanding participation in governance are presented respectively. Sections 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, 3.9, 3.10 and 3.11 treat the following topic respectively: understanding women's participation, the dynamics of women's participation, the effects of women's participation, pastoral women's participation, the dynamics of pastoral women's participation and the effects of pastoral women's participation. In section 3.12, I present a conceptual framework and in the final section I present a concluding remark which provides a summary of what has been revealed in the literature and highlight the existing knowledge gap.

3.2 Decentralized local governance in Tanzania: a historical overview

In this section, I present a historical overview of decentralized local governance in Tanzania from the pre-colonial era to the period under local government reform programme as it relates to women's participation. The historical perspective is essential because it provides the origin of contemporary decentralized local governance system in Tanzania from gender perspective.

The decentralized local governance system in Tanzania¹² has a long history, going back to the pre-colonial era and the colonial period (during German and British rule), after independence until 1999 when the country started implementing the local government reform programme.

¹²Tanzania is a unitary state formed by two sovereign states which are Tanganyika, constituting the mainland side and Zanzibar, the island side. The two states united in 1964 to form Tanzania but have different governance systems and do not share the same history. For the purpose of this study Tanzania will mean the mainland side.

Pre-colonial era (Before 1884)

Various forms of Local Authorities existed in the pre-colonial era in different societies of Tanzania then known as Tanganyika. It had recognized leadership structures under the authority of local “chiefs”, usually hereditary and in charge of all administrative matters in chiefdoms. During that time, most communities were governed through chiefdoms, although structure and systems of governance varied from one community to another. Within these structures chiefs, mainly men, were the main decision makers and were assisted by council of elders (Shivji and Peter, 1999). The council was convened to discuss various matters such as a threat from another tribe, an outbreak of serious disease, famine, environmental conservation, depredations of wild animals; and they deliberated on these questions. Usually at such meetings, a man was chosen as a spokesman for a village or a clan. The spokesman informed the council members on issues at stake. Only men were allowed to attend and contribute to such meetings. Women were traditionally regarded as having no role to play in meetings. Unless called to witness certain issues, women remained implementers of decisions the council of elders had made. This early form of local governance was in place until the German colonial government came to rule Tanzania.

The German rule (1884-1920)

Germany ruled Tanzania (Tanganyika by then) from 1884-1920, using the direct rule system. In 1901, the imperial decree known as communal unions (*Kommunal Verandes*) was put into effect by the German governor to establish local authorities called unions in the districts of Tanga, Pangani, Bagamoyo, Kilwa, Lindi Lushoto, Kilosa, Mbeya and Dares Salaam. These unions were given extensive duties including constructing schools, streetlights, roads, streets, and bridges, distribution of seeds to natives and overseeing the management of cooperative village farms. The unions did not work as well as the German colonisers had expected, therefore most of them were abolished in 1909 except Dares Salaam and Tanga unions which performed slightly better than the rest (Max, 1991).

In the same year 1909, Germany started a discussion on establishing town councils in all German colonies. In 1910, the German chancellor created municipal councils in all German colonies including Tanzania. The councils had various duties including the maintenance of

roads and public spaces, water supplies, street lighting and cleaning, as well as school maintenance, and were limited to urban areas for meeting German expatriate interests. Native populations, men and women were generally excluded from participation in decision-making in these local authorities. Few native men were allowed to participate in decision-making and where it did happen the decision was made in the interest of the colonial master. Most of the decision-making process was centralized in the district commissioners' hands. The commissioners were expatriates appointed by the German governor in a particular colony to head councils in a bid to intensify their direct rule system. The system, however operated in the country for only two decades and experienced much resistance from natives as it was harsh, and did not foresee local people's involvement in decision-making (Max, 1991; Mukandara and Peter, 2004).

The British era (1920 -1961)

The British colony was formally established in Tanzania in 1920 and was headed by the governor appointed by the King to represent his majesty's government in Tanzania. The governor was a commander in chief of the armed forces in the country and was assisted by an executive council composed of the chief secretary, the attorney general, the treasurer and the municipal medical officer. The governor had powers to make ordinances for good governance of the country, and respecting native laws and customs as basis for ruling the country indirectly.

Unlike the German direct rule, the British used a system of indirect rule which used the existing native rules and structures to govern the colonies. British indirect rule was based on a principle of ruling territories through native chiefs and the administration of natives' laws and customs mostly regarding women as secondary citizens. This ruling system was affected by the enactment of the Native Authority Ordinance (Cap 72) of 1926, which recognized the traditional chiefs as rulers of their tribes empowered to exercise some administrative, executive and judicial powers in their areas of jurisdiction. The chiefs were groomed to support the colonial government and their bureaucracy was top down. Women barely participated in decision-making organs as it was assumed men represented them (Johnson and Mosha, 2004; Max, 1991).

However, after World War II there was a pressure for self-rule in many parts of the colonized world. This pressure forced colonial governments to introduce effective local government system in different parts of the world. Therefore, the British State Secretary of the colonies issued a dispatch instructing all British colonies to set up a democratic and efficient local government system. Reacting to the instruction, in 1950 the colonial government in Tanzania amended the Native Authority Ordinance (Cap.72) of 1926. The amendments allowed the incorporation of ordinary citizens into chiefs' Council Advisory committees. In addition, the amended Native Authority Ordinance moved executive powers from the chiefs to the councils since chiefs could no longer make decisions without the approval of the councils as part of efforts to democratize governance at local level.

In 1953 the British colony passed a local government system ordinance which created municipal, town and district councils. This ordinance expanded local democracy by making functions of all councils exercisable in respect of all persons in the areas under jurisdiction. However, the democracy had its limitations because British colonial rule was premised on understanding that women were subordinate to men, thus women's concerns were taken care of by men (Shivji and Peter, 1999).

Over time women began to emerge as an essential part of the early political movements whose aim was to resist colonialism and achieve independence in Tanzania. During the movements, some women joined and became active members of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU¹³), in the struggle for independence and contributed various resources such as food and organising fund raising activities to boost the party's efforts. Women such as Bibi Titi Mohamed, Lucy Lameck and Sophia Kawawa emerged as political activists and vibrant women as well as key players during the struggle for independence who maintained a high profile until the country gained independence in 1961 (Johnson and Mosha, 2004). Nevertheless, women were not included in the first cabinet which indicated limited representation of their interests in the cabinet (Meena, 2009).

After independence Tanzania underwent four main phases of development: the first decade of independence, the de-concentration period, the reinstatement of local governments, and the local government reform period. These phases lasted for a specific duration and each had distinct features.

¹³The political party that led political independence in Tanzania by then Tanganyika.

The first decade of independence (1961-1971)

In this period, the country continued with the administrative system of colonial government until 1962, when the government undertook the task of establishing democratic local authority throughout the country. The essence of establishing the local authority was to do away with the colonial system that was undemocratic and to establish a new system that was more participatory in nature (Mollel, 2010). The new system considered representation of women in local governance through creating spaces for women with a view to enhancing the representation of women's interests. However, the new system of governance had a multiplicity of laws including customary laws and practices that often limited women's contributions to decision-making. Moreover, the number of women in the parliament was cut by half from 8 per cent in 1961- 65 to 4 per cent in the 1970- 1975 parliament. Additionally, most women representatives acted as party cadres in their local authorities, mainly defending the interests of TANU, the ruling party at that time (Johnson and Mosha , 2004). This situation did not last for long. In 1972, ten years after independence the local authorities were abolished (Max, 1991).

The period between 1972-1982

In this period Tanzania possessed no local government authorities following the abolition of District and Urban Authorities. The authorities were abolished because of mismanagement and failure to deliver social services to people. Therefore a system of de-concentration of government was in place for a decade to replace the abolished local government system. In the new system of de-concentration, "Participation" became a catchword and a rallying slogan, targeting local people's powers to make decision on matters affecting their welfare and local importance. Participation was also meant to involve all people within a particular locality irrespective of gender, in the development process. Nevertheless, there were no specific strategies for enhancing women's participation in decision-making during the de-concentration period. Women's occupation of leadership positions continued to be low in number. For instance, in 1979 only 6.5 per cent of the village managers were women and there were no woman chairpersons or secretaries at that time (Johsona and Mosha, 2004). The bureaucrats mostly men hijacked decision-making powers and made decisions on behalf of

the people. Therefore the intention to abolish local authorities in order to increase people's participation was undermined by central government and bureaucratic institutions (Mollel, 2010).

In reality what was termed as de-concentration was turned into concentration of decision-making powers at the centre. This eventually affected service delivery which led to inadequate textbooks in schools, poorly maintained roads, buildings, drains and sewers, and dispensaries lacked essential drugs. The government realized the malfunctioning of local authorities and that people's participation in local authorities was very important. Thus, the Government came to realize that the decision to abolish local authorities had been a mistaken one (Mmari, 2005).

Reinstatement of local authorities

Subsequently, the Government took initiatives to reinstate local authorities in the country by passing legislation. In 1982, the Government enacted the Local Government (District Authorities) Act No.7 of 1982 and the Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act No.8 of 1982 that established Local Authorities in rural areas and urban areas respectively. In 1983 local government elections were held and local authorities were officially reinstated effective from 1984. The authorities gained substantial formal autonomy at this period, as decentralization was seen as necessary to facilitate democratic participation in the decision-making process. It was also hoped that the elected local councils would be more effective in mobilizing people in order to participate in self-help activities (Mollel, 2010).

Nevertheless, the reality over reinstated local authorities was different. The roles, functions and structures of governance, remained the same as it had been under de-concentration system (Mollel, 2010; Mukandala and Peter, 2004). Women's participation in local authorities remained nominal as the structures continued to maintain women's statistics in governance (Shayo et al., 2012). Consequently women had no clear-cut impact on policies or programmes that distinctly advance women's concerns (Shayo, 2005).

This situation continued until 1992 when the country adopted the multi-party system. At this time the country experienced significant change in the form of social, economic and political transformations. These transformations include a growing awareness of issues of gender in democracy (Meena, 2009). More important, it was during this time that an act of the

Parliament was passed to amend the constitution and introduce special measures so that women would occupy 15 per cent of Parliamentary seats and 25 per cent of the seats in the local councils. (The 8th Constitutional Amendment Act No. 4 of 1994). Following the amendment each political party was allocated women's special seats equivalent to the percentage of constituency seats the party acquired in the general election. In that way, women gained access in numbers to decision-making positions at both national and local levels. Nevertheless, party governance structures and social systems including social norms and values that significantly constrained women's participation in decision-making remained unchanged. Consequently, women's participation in decision-making continued to be a problem as they could not have significant impact in spite of increased numbers (Mukangara and Koda, 1997; Meena, 2003).

Nonetheless, the multi-party system was famous for increasing opportunities for women participation in decision-making as women had more opportunities to participate in both constituency seats as well as special seats reserved for them. In addition, political awareness for women increased at the time, because each political party strived to provide civic education to women as a potential group of voters. At the same time, women's movements formed by feminist activists and NGOs mushroomed to encouraging women to vie for leadership positions. However, while the goal of providing more opportunities for women in decision-making position was attained by having women representatives in decision-making organs, the women representatives had no voices to influence decision-making. The claim that women can influence policies favouring them has met contestations of critics who argue that it may take decades before women are in a position to represent women's concerns (Shayo et al., 2012; Meena, 2003).

Local government reform programme

The re-established authorities continued to have a number of fundamental problems including people's participation in decision-making especially the most vulnerable groups such as women. Therefore, the government appointed a commission to undertake studies on the performance of the local government system in the country. The commission reported that the local authorities were malfunctioning and that there was a need to develop a new local government system that could respond to existing socio-economic challenges as well as enhance people's participation in decision-making processes (Mollel, 2010). As a result, a

general agreement that the local government system has to be reformed was reached between the government and the ruling political party at that time (CCM).

Following the agreement, the local government reform programme was initiated in 1996 through a national conference seeking to move “towards a shared vision for local government in Tanzania” which was subsequently summarized as the vision in a form of Local Government Reform Agenda. In October 1998, the government published a policy paper on Local Government Reform Programme that translated the Local Government Reform Agenda into the concrete implementation framework focusing on “Decentralization by Devolution” (D-by-D) which entailed the transfer of powers, functional responsibilities and resources from central to local government authorities. The transfer of power was to be made through transferring power of decision-making functional responsibility and resources from central to local government authority and was guided by the vision of the future of local government system as formulated and endorsed at the national conference of 1996 (Ngwale, 2005; URT, 2006b). The reformed local authorities were anticipated to have the following features.

- Largely autonomous institutions: the nation was going to have local authorities which are mostly autonomous institutions, the role of central government institutions being limited to the formulation of a policy framework and monitoring accountability and maintenance of law and order.
- Strong and effective institutions: the local authorities were to have financial and non-financial resources including qualified and motivated manpower, and the necessary authority to effectively perform their roles and functions, as mandated by the local population and by the central government.
- Similarly, according to the policy, local authorities will be democratically governed in the sense that people will be free to elect their leaders in a fairly democratic process at all local government levels as a way of encouraging people to participate in governance within their locality.
- Fostering participatory development: the local authorities will facilitate people’s participation in the planning and execution of development plans, and foster partnerships with civic groups.
- Each local authority will have functions that reflect demands for services by the local population, and structures reflecting socio-ecological conditions dominant in a particular area.

- Transparency and accountability: The local authorities will be transparent and accountable to the people, as the basis for justifying their autonomy from the central government (Mollel, 2010; URT, 2006a; 1998).

The main principles of the Reform were to:

- Let people participate in government at the local level and elect their councils.
- Bring public services under people's control through their local councils.
- Give local councils powers (political devolution) over all local affairs.
- Determine the appropriate and cost effective organisational structures for Local Government Authorities.
- Improve financial and political accountability.
- Secure finances for better public services.
- Create a new local government administration answerable to the local councils and to local needs.
- De-link local administrative leaders from their former ministries.
- Create new central-local relationship, based not on orders, but on legislation and negotiations (Van Dijk, 2008; Mollel, 2010)

All these principles were geared to the creation of good governance which was summarized in the government's policy paper on Local Government Reform published in October 1998 (URT, 1998). This went hand in hand with several measures that were taken by the government to ensure the smooth implementation and running of the reformed local government system. Such measures included enactment of the Regional Administration Act No. 19 of 1997 to restructure regional administration that tended to replicate and duplicate the functions and responsibilities of Local Government Authorities. Under Regional Administration Act, regional secretariats were redefined as back-stopping role to the Local Authorities within their area of jurisdiction thus giving more autonomy to local authorities. In the same vein, the Local Government Act No.7 of 1982 was amended in February 1999 through Act No. 6 of 1999 to give effect to new central-local relations. The amendments stressed good governance, calling for democratically elected local leaders to enhance transparency in the conduct of council affairs. The amendments further emphasized greater accountability and transparency of the councils to the people. Moreover, the amended act aimed at strengthening decision-making powers at the grassroots level, by the establishment of committees at the lowest level of local governance structures.

With all preparations in place, the implementation of the Local Government Reform Programme started in 1999 and occurred in three phases. Phase one commenced in January 2000 and involved 38 district councils randomly selected across the country and coordinated at central, regional and council levels. Phase two commenced a year after phase one, and was followed by phase three, two years later. All the phases were coordinated at the national level by the component managers who were working under the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government. The managers were in charge of Local Government Reform Programme preparatory activities, reform activities as well as management and monitoring activities national wide.

Below the national level, there was a regional level task team composed of officers from regional secretariat management, appointed by the ministry responsible for local government to form the task team for Local Government Reform programme. The team was tasked to provide support to local councils concerning reform activities and advice to component managers at the central level in the case of a possible modification or any support the councils may need.

At the council level, there was a Council Reform Team (CRT), which was appointed by the Council to oversee activities of the reform and mobile teams. The mobile team's task was to ensure that reform changes were consistent with the established reform concept and framework assisting the Council Reform Team. The CRT consisting of management team members within a local authority with few councillors, had the function of implementing the reform package suitably adjusting it to local circumstances and priorities decided by the council. Most importantly, the CRT was tasked to seek views of members of society, especially the people at grassroots level with the purpose of enhancing people's participation in governance and the local population's sense of ownership of the reform.

In addition, the reforms efforts were made to mainstream gendered participatory practices with emphasis on the importance of gender considerations in decision-making bodies. For instance, the required number of women in various local governance organs was clearly spelt out in the Local Government Act -No. 6 of 1999. All decision-making bodies at different levels of governance implemented the Act to ensure women's representation in governance with the expectation that female politicians will represent women in decision-making organs. The challenge has always been the question of whether women politicians have voice or voices to influence decision-making (Shayo, 2005).

Literature concerning women's participation in governance in Tanzania has long been interested in showing their numbers in decision-making organs with the ideal that women act for women (Tripp, 1994; Shayo, 2005; Shayo et al., 2012; Yoon, 2011). Yet, some scholars have strongly disputed this idea on the grounds that women's participation and representation of women's interests are different issues (Meena, 2009, 2003; Msafiri, 2007).

Existing studies such as Johnson and Mosha (2004), Meena (2009), URT (2008), URT (2010), Yoon (2011) suggest that women's participation in decision-making organs has been improving since independence. For instance, the percentage of women in leadership positions in public service has increased from 20 per cent in 2004/2005 to 22 per cent in 2008/2009. Likewise, between 2004-2009 the number of women judges has also increased in High Court of Appeal from 33 per cent to 76 per cent in 2009, and in the High Court from 16 per cent to 67 per cent. Additionally, for the first time since independence the current Speaker of National Assembly is a woman. Generally, the percentage of women representatives in decision-making organs has risen from 8 per cent in 1961 when the country got her independence, to 35 per cent in the year 2010 (URT, 2010). Nevertheless, there is limited empirical evidence that indicate a relationship between the growing percentages of women in governance and the representation of women's interests (Meena, 2009).

The current Gender Development Policy, the National Vision 2025 as well as the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty all envision building a situation of gender equality in the nation. The Gender Development Policy specifically states that the vision of the policy is to ensure that issues of gender equality become a key consideration informing all policies, plans, strategies and development interventions at all levels of governance. Likewise, among the goals of the National Vision 2025 is to address issues of women empowerment in all socio-economic and political relations (Holvoet and Inberg, 2011).

The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty popularly known as "MKUKUTA¹⁴" has several clusters required to produce output by the 2015. Cluster three of MKUKUTA includes fostering participation of the people in decision-making processes for equitable and sustainable growth. The essence of emphasizing participation under MKUKUTA policy was based on the argument that poverty reduction was only possible if it goes hand in hand with campaigns for equity in decision-making. Therefore MKUKUTA pays

¹⁴MKUKUTA is a Swahili terminology which stands for *Mpango wa Taifa wa kukuza Uchumi na Kufufua Umaskini* or National Strategy for Growth and Poverty Reduction.

attention to equity issues as well as equitable growth that focus on reducing inequalities and enhancing livelihood opportunities for the marginalized poor including women. Equitable growth is supposed to entail improving access to and use of productive assets by the marginalized, addressing geographical disparities and ensuring equal and universal access to public resources. The universal principle spelt out in MKUKUTA provides a foundation which obliges the state to assume primary responsibility for promoting gender equality (URT, 2005; Holvoet and Insberg, 2011).

Although there are some noticeable high-profile strategies and achievements concerning women's participation in governance in Tanzania, I argue that these achievements as well as strategies centre on integrating women in governance with the idea that once involved in decision-making women will act for women. It has yet to be shown that women's inclusion in decision-making results in the achievement of feminist outcomes. I have a feeling that having women in governance alone is insufficient to bring changes concerning women, because there are many factors that can weaken women's influence in governance.

3.3 Understanding decentralized local governance

Decentralization of governance is happening in large parts of the world as a strategy towards states democratization and increasing citizens' participation in public affairs (Joshi, 2013). Very often decentralizing governance tends to produce systems of governance that are easier for individuals or groups at local levels to access and so to influence decision-making (Kibua and Mwabu, 2008). Decentralization as a concept refers to political and administrative reforms that transfer varying degrees of function, responsibility, resources and political and fiscal autonomy from central government to lower levels of states such as regional, district, wards or villages (Rondinelli, 2002). The method under which decentralization takes place differs, as does classification. However, there are three identified areas of decentralization: Political, fiscal and administrative (Ibid). Political decentralization emphasizes distribution of power to lower levels of government. Fiscal decentralization concerns the shift of responsibility for expenditures and allocation distributed between tiers of government. Administrative decentralization refers to the transfer of public functions to lower tier levels of governments, which can take several forms such as de-concentration, delegation, devolution and divestment (Cheema and Rondinelli, 2007; Fjeldstad et al., 2010; Mollel, 2010).

The literature indicates that the decentralization of fiscal, political and administrative authorities is often claimed to result in good governance as decentralization promotes efficiency, empowerment and participation that are components of governance (Bardhan, 2002; Shabbir and Rondinelli, 2007; Kibua and Mwabu, 2008; Venugopal and Yilmazi, 2010). Governance refers to formal and informal relationships between actors drawn from complex patterns of decision-making and distinctive articulations of the relationships between the state and its citizens (Melo and Baiochi, 2006). I will not use Melo and Baicho's definition of governance because governance is more than a relationship between a state and its citizens. In this study, I opt to use UNDP's understanding of governance as it is broad and more comprehensive. According to UNDP, governance is a set of institutions, mechanisms and processes through which citizens and their groups can articulate their interests and needs, mediate their differences and exercise their rights (UNDP, 2004).

In recent decades women's participation in governance has been at the heart of goals and practices of governance in trying to involve women in decision-making so as to generate optimistic gains in representation of women's issues (Brody, 2009). Nevertheless, it has also been noted that the practice still falls short of ensuring representation of women's interests (Chaliga, 2008).

This has also contributed to the configuration of public authorities that shift decision-making power to the lowest level of government so as to ensure that citizens have easy access to represent their interests in decision-making organs within a particular locality. Local governance therefore concerns the way different interests are settled among citizens and broadly with public authorities within a defined territory (local authority) (Shah, 2006; Chaliga, 2008).

Good local governance takes into account that men and women have different interests and women possess distinct common interests for which only they (women) demonstrably seem well-placed to bring attention to on their own behalf (Shah, 2006). Therefore women are needed in decision-making organs so as to generate substantive representation of issues and policies that are important to women. In addition, women in local governance generate perceptible gains in representation of women's issues (Taylor-Robinson and Heath, 2003; Paxton and Hughes, 2007).

In general, decentralized local governance is often presented as good to women because it brings decision-making closer to home thus providing opportunities for more women to

participate in governance (Beal,2005). Scholars have argued that if women have opportunity to participate in politics they are more likely to act for women than men (Child and Look, 2006). Similarly, in traditional societies¹⁵ such as pastoralist, scholars are optimistic that pastoral women's participation in governance leads to the sharing of their experience of living in a society in which women's interests are uncrystallised or new to the political agenda (Flintan, 2008).

Nevertheless, Beall (2005) asserts that there is little empirical evidence to support the link between decentralized local governance and women's substantive participation. Very often there are politics within decentralized local governance that determines who takes the best advantages of governance. Schanke and Lange (2008) point out that women are facing constraints in decision-making at community as well as at household level such that, one fails to make decisions like selling a chicken so as to take a child to hospital in cases when a husband is away because all household properties belonged to the husband. Women have generally limited decision-making power even to those issues which directly affect women's personal life such as determining the number of children a woman should have (Ibid). Similarly, in pastoral societies, cultural traditions provide for men's dominance in decision-making process, implying that pastoral women's presence or absence in decision-making forums means the same (IFAD, 2003).

All in all Powley and Beall indicate that local politics can be more interesting in seeing women take part as they are the major users of space and services in the local community (water, electricity, waste disposal, health clinics, and other social services). In this regard, it becomes appealing to women's participation in decision-making so as to manage these services as the services are linked to women's traditional responsibilities of family care (Powley, 2008; Beall, 2005).

More often than not the literature indicates that women's inclusion in decentralized governance is regarded as a way of legitimizing their representation in governance with less concern about representing women's issues (Beall, 2007). Francis (2007) contests that decentralization is nothing but a transfer of decision-making power from men at national level to men at district and lower levels of governance. For instance studies have shown that pastoral women are faced with the dilemma of how to embrace changes brought in by

¹⁵Refers to a society in which the roles of women and men adhere to stereotypes of men as heads of the family or "breadwinner" and women as responsible for taking care of the family.

decentralization that benefit them as individuals, but at the same time not to damage the very roots of their cultural identity and existence (Flintan et al., 2011; Barrett et al., 2007).

Beall points out that women's presence in decision-making organs does not guarantee their substantive participation as a decentralized local governance is open to informal institutions and relations of power that undermine or bypass formal rules and procedure for participation. These informal institutions have a strong influence in determining women's substantive participation as they may implicitly or explicitly exclude women from decision-making processes by using formal rules (Beall, 2007). For instance in India, some decentralized local governance bodies known as panchayats¹⁶ instituted rules that deliberately set low quorums for women to vote so that men could meet and overshadow women in decisions making despite a provision in the Indian constitution on women's participation (Joyal, 2006). However, according to Simpson-Hebert, decentralized local governance guarantees a space for women in politics as it is normally accompanied by policy or legislation changes aimed at among other things reinforcing equality through balancing the number of women and men representative in governance (WISP, 2007; Simpson-Hebert, 2005).

Discussions concerning the link between decentralized local governance and women's participation are still contentious. I support the argument that the simple fact of women in decentralized local governance does not necessarily mean that they have an impact in decision-making. In this case, I argue that the discussion should continue about whether women in decentralized local governance make a difference in decision-making.

3.4 Participation in governance: a historical overview

The history of participation in governance can be traced back to the 1940s and 1950s when the notion of participation started not as a governance concept per se but as a development concept. The concept of participation in development emerged after the realization that most development projects were failing to achieve their intended objectives due to a lack of people's involvement in management of the projects (Gupta et al, 2004; WB, 1996).

Therefore in the 1950s and 60s social workers and activists in the USA and the UK started a call for peoples' inclusion in developing projects as a move to secure the projects (Mansuri and Rao, 2004). The argument put forward by the social workers and activists was that the

¹⁶Local government bodies endowed with responsibility of taking care of administration in Indian villages.

projects were unsuccessful because people were not involved in running them. Social workers and activists reached the same conclusion, and pointed at the perpetuation of social inequality among people. Hence, participation in development projects was also advocated as a mechanism to promote gender equality through men and women's inclusion in the development of the projects (Armah et al., 2009). Though, Grey observed that women's inclusion in political office has not generated any correspondent changes in either policy processes or outcomes especially those policies that affect women and their interests (Grey, 2006).

In the 1960s the UN actively supported the promotion of people's participation in development activities in many countries across the globe with emphasis on people as beneficiaries of various development programmes. During that time participation was however, limited simply to people's presence at an activity with little attention to how they participated (Nelson and Wright 1995; Mansuri and Rao, 2004). Emphasis on people's participation in development continued to grow in the 1970s especially after the UN had published two major policy documents on participation, namely: Popular Participation in Development of 1971 and Popular Participation in Decision-making for Development of 1975 which offered a formal definition of the concept of participation and bases for its implementation (Mansuri and Rao, 2004).

Gradually the understanding of people's participation diffused into more specific UN programmes such as Health and Education programmes that also emphasised popular involvement in development. In this regard, the declaration on primary health care was adopted by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organisation (WHO) in 1977 which stressed the importance of popular participation in health service provision. People's participation in development gained much more attention towards the end of the Cold War (1989). Following the end of the cold war, donor countries had a common stance as opposed to approaches split along the dividing line of east-west ideology. This common stance demanded donor aid recipients to effectively and efficiently use development aid. Therefore in order to make sure that the aid had visible effects, donors became actively involved in the reform of developing nations' political systems, policies, and implementing structures, moves that were taking place in the 1980s. During the 1970s and 1980s most of the developing countries were experiencing economic crises. Thus, they had to request loans from developed countries to boost their economies. Following that scenario the Bretton Woods institutions (The World Bank and IMF) advanced neoliberal ideas in the context of

development processes and development strategies. The neoliberal orthodoxy identified widespread and excessive state interventions in the economy as the major cause of weak economic progress. Generally neoliberal thought conceived the state as a problem rather than the solution to achieving economic progress in developing countries (Armah et al., 2009).

Therefore, the universal policy proposal (the Washington Consensus) came to agree that a systematic programme of decreasing state involvement in the economy had to be adopted by developing countries as a measure to rescue their economies. The countries were required to reduce budget deficits substantially, devalue their currencies, and more generally scale back state intervention in their economies. These reforms went hand in hand with political democratization and pluralism, economic liberalization, and transition to a market-oriented economy with emphasis in people's participation (Chambers, 1983). The neoliberal agenda was supported by a powerful new political economy that challenged the notion of a benign state which would always act in the public interest, an idea that was at the core of structuralist development thinking and the associated modes of national development. The political economy element embodied in neoliberal thinking underlined the need to analyse the state not as an abstract institution divorced from society at large but as a powerful interest group in itself.

By the beginning of the 1990s serious criticism was levelled at the neoliberal paradigm because of the failure of its applicability across the globe. Overall growth in the world economy had been strikingly lower and more unstable during the neoliberal era compared to earlier periods. The gap between developed and less developed countries widened and there had been increased divergence in the levels of development within the less developed countries. For example a large number of African countries were stagnant or registered negative rates of growth during the 1980s compared to the hyper-growth experienced by Asian countries. This scenario resulted in massive protests from NGOs as well as academics who demanded of the relaxation of stringent conditions generated by the neoliberal agenda. In response to challenges against global neoliberalism, the IFM and the World Bank shifted the policy focus from hard core neoliberalism to a new focus called Post Washington Consensus (PWC). The key element of the PWC was to recognise states as having an important role in the development process. Likewise, PWC regarded states crucial in setting policies that regulate the private provision of services as well as helping to promote equality and alleviate poverty that was rampant in developing countries in the 1990s. The promotion of equality was mainly targeted at balancing the numbers of men and women in decision-making organs by

ensuring that specific rules were in place to create spaces for women's representation in governance. Similarly, poverty alleviation was effected by launching a poverty reduction initiative for developing countries. Under this initiative each state receiving loans from international financial institutions was required to prepare a Poverty Reduction Paper (PRSP). The PRSP had to outline a country's objectives with regard to poverty reduction and stipulate policies needed to achieve the objectives. Similarly, PRSP was to be formulated based on a national consultation process that features a public forum in which civil society, the government, the World Bank and the IMF all participate discussing the appropriate policies to achieve poverty reduction. To that effect governments adopted participatory approaches in their ministries as a means of allowing citizens to influence policies and planning at multiple levels (Holland and Blackburn, 1998). PRSPs were supposed to express not only government interests but also the interests of women and women's gender interests that had remained marginalized from government decision-making. Nevertheless, participatory processes in most countries had hardly been gender sensitive (Zuckerman, 2001). Women faced problems in participating such as short notices for meetings as well as limited time to prepare for the meetings (Bamberger et al., 2001). Likewise, even where women's groups had been integrated into participatory exercise, they generally remained marginalized from government, civil society and grassroots decision-making and women's organisation felt removed from macro-economics debates central to PRSPs (Bamberger et al., 2001; Derbyshire, 2002).

Generally, there was a concern about democratic deficit across the globe between citizens and institutions that affect their lives, which indicated a general weakness of PRSP and government's lack of responsiveness to citizens (Clarke, 2002; Skocpol, 2003; Putman, 2000). The concerns grew as citizens and activists demanded from the state greater levels of engagement for citizens. This eventually broadened participatory approaches to include issues of governance such as representation, transparency and accountability (Gaventa, 2004).

Participation in governance was meant to involve people in decision-making in order to have their concerns integrated in governance through the formulation or shaping of different policies affecting them (Cornwall and Gaventa, 2000). Later on participation in governance extended its focus to include the marginalized poor including women as they were historically known to be marginalized from participation in governance. The push for the involvement of women in governance was also based on the idea that women possess distinct common

interests for which only they (women) demonstrably seem well-placed to bring attention to on their own behalf (Tripp 1994; Narayan et al., 2000; Fung, 2003; Gaventa, 2004).

Nevertheless, participation in governance became a challenge particularly to women as most women representatives did not act as had been expected. In many parts of the world, most elected women representatives were representing their personal interests or ideologies of their political parties rather than women's concerns (Newell and Bellour, 2002; Gaventa, 2004; IPU, 2012; IDEA, 2010).

In Africa for instance, despite the adoption of the African charter on popular participation in 1990 and a protocol to the African charter on human and people's rights on the rights to protect women's right to participation in decision-making in 2005, women's participation has remained "descriptive" in the continent. Evidence from countries such as Rwanda, Zambia, Uganda and Mozambique indicate high percentages of women representatives in governance organs. However, relations between the high percentages and women's substantive participation has always remained a paradox. In a meeting of a group of gender experts held in Ethiopia, it was revealed that the presence of women in decision-making organs has been ineffective in influencing decisions concerning women. In other words despite the efforts to bring more women into politics there has been a debate on whether or not women representatives pursue feminist policy concerns on the African continent (UN, 2005).

In Tanzania, people's participation in governance is a catchword dominating almost all government sectors. Participation, which implies popular inclusivity (Ushirikishwaji¹⁷) is however, targeting an individual's physical presence or inclusiveness in an activity or decision-making instead of influencing individuals to actively participate and have a voice in decision-making (Green, 2010). The main view for advocating people's participation in governance is to include the marginalized poor including women in decision-making or development in general with a popular inclusiveness perspective. Even then, the popular inclusiveness view does not go far beyond advocating the numerical involvement of marginalized people including women in governance. In general, I argue that the analysis of historical overview of participation indicates that participation has been inclined to get people involved in decision-making. It has yet to be shown that mere involvement will achieve the expected outcomes of people's involvement.

¹⁷ Is the Swahili word which means "participation".

3.5 Understanding participation in governance

People's participation in governance is widely regarded as a democratic principle. The rationale behind this idea is that people should be involved in decisions that affect their lives so that they can express their views and make suggestions as well as requests that can be integrated in development programmes (Binswanger and Aiyar, 2010; Ezekiel and Malipula, 2009). Although involving people in decision-making may enhance the representation of people's interests in governance, Mayoux argues that very often a mere involvement of people in governance has led people having changes without the power to influence decisions (Mayoux, 1995).

Discussions about understanding participation in governance are broadly linked to either descriptive or substantive involvement of people in governance. The descriptive understanding of participation refers to having a share in or to take part in or be part of an activity, a context, social scene or group (Hammel et al., 2008:1449). This understanding of an individuals' presence in a group, activity or context is an essential component of participation. On a similar view, the World Bank defines participation as a process in which stakeholders are involved and share control of decisions and resources which affect them (Luyet et al., 2012). The World Bank's understanding focuses on empowering stakeholders and makes them feel part and parcel of a group or activity in which they take part.

However, a critique of the descriptive understanding of participation notices that individual's presence is given more attention than the roles of the individuals in representing interests of a particular group. This understanding is likely to generate limited information about people's participation in governance. This is because participation is narrowed to individual's presence or taking part in activity. Participation needs to be viewed beyond presence and examine individual's ability to change policies that affect them (Cornwall, 2008; Mayoux, 1995).

The substantive understanding of participation which this study intends to pursue, advocates not only involving individuals numerically, but giving them a voice or voices to influence their demands and interest in decision-making. It also concerns participants' effect on participation. This can be manifested by participants' ability to influence in decision-making as well as produce outcomes that are favourable to them (Agarwal, 2010; Goetz, 2009; Schuster, 2007; Grey, 2006).

In addition to the descriptive and substantive understanding of participation, the literature indicates that there are divergent contexts and differing ideological stances in the understanding of participation (Cornwall, 2008; Potts et al., 2003). In this regard, three arguments exist within understanding of participation (Potts et al., 2003). The first argument purports participation as a means and an end in itself. This argument advocates that if people are involved in an activity, there is a likelihood of attaining intended objectives of the activity and at the same time they will have control and confidence in decision-making. The second argument advocates that participation leads to gender equality. This line of thinking posits that the more people are involved in an activity the more likely gender equality is going to be obtained. The third argument portrays that participation as a process or an institutional change. In the subsequent section a detailed explanation of these arguments is presented.

Participation as means and an end in itself

The literature points out that participation is often understood as means and as an end in itself (Potts et al., 2003; Burkey, 1993 and Oakley, 1991). Scholars supporting understanding of participation as means to an end argue that predetermined activities and targets will likely be achieved if people are involved in them (Rowe and Frewer, 2004; Cleaver, 1999). They also believe that participation is an important tool for enhancing development because it leads to improved service delivery and also contributes to promoting governance and democratic process by enabling citizens to participate in decision-making within their localities. The rationale behind this argument is that by involving people, there will be new ideas, suggestions and innovations that will contribute to attainment of the intended objectives. Contesting the argument for participation as a means to an end, Rowe and Frewer (2004) point out that participation often goes hand in hand with consulting and involves members of the public in the setting the agenda as well as implementing the agenda.

Nonetheless, scholars have criticised understanding of participation as means to an end because it is rare and not always the case that simply involving people results in the achievement of intended objectives (Potts et al., 2003). This understanding does not provide a broad picture of how the people should participate to attain the intended objectives. Are they free to participate? Which level of involvement is required to attain the intended objectives? Do they have a voice or voices to influence decisions towards attainment of the intended objectives? Equally important, the understanding of participation as means does not indicate

how people attain the intended objectives? Burkey (1993) contends that, experience with application of participation as means to an end demonstrates that, involvement of people does not necessarily guarantee attainment of the intended objectives. Burkey's position is based on the experience of some organizations that have failed to record intended objectives in spite of involving people (Burkey, 1993). Similarly, Nelson and Wright (1995) strongly criticise this form of participation because it mainly focuses on goal attainment and has less to do with concern for marginalized people like women.

In another perspective, participation is understood as an end in itself. This perspective posits participation as an empowering tool that provides people with greater control and confidence in decision-making (Potts et al., 2003; Cleaver, 1999; Cornwall, 2008). The literature specifies that participation as an end enhances the capacity of individuals and improves their lives. It equally facilitates social changes to the advantage of disadvantaged or marginalized groups (Cleaver, 1999; Putman, 1993). Validating the merits of participation as an end, Cleaver (1999) points out that the inclusion of women in decision-making organs through positive discrimination is often seen as a good example of empowering women. Cleaver continues to attest that participation as empowerment was a base for establishing women quotas in decision-making organs, consequently leading to women having control in the decision-making process in legislative organs (Cleaver, 1999).

More importantly, the literature also considers empowerment as an important process of social transformation and structural change of systems of relations. This is because through empowerment, unacknowledged voices are amplified by enabling those whose voices are not acknowledged to decide upon and take actions that are essential or beneficial to them (Oakley and Clegg, 1998). Considering this fact, the United Republic of Tanzania constitution provides for equal participation of women and men fully in all aspects of the governance process. For instance the constitution amendment 1992 provides for affirmative actions to rectify historical gender imbalances in women's access to representative organs (Meena, 2009).

Likewise, literature suggests that participation as an end in itself leads to personal development, a state of mind through which people increase their self-esteem and confidence and are able to make independent decisions (Chambers, 1997). Despite the above-mentioned strengths, recent discussions about participation as an end highlight some limitations on its applicability. The literature indicates that participation is not necessarily an empowering

experience though change may occur (Agarwal, 2010). For instance, Meena (2003) points out that although the gender quota was a special measure to ensure gender balance in decision-making entailing women experiences and interests, it has never worked to promote women's interests.

Participation as a process or change of governance institutions

Two broad schools of thought exist within the understanding of participation as a process or change of governance institutions. The first one emphasises that participation can effectively be attained through strengthening its process (Luyet et al., 2012; WB, 2013; Coleman and Mwangi, 2013). The second school of thought focuses on reforming institutions of participation as essential component of participation (Cornwall and Goetz, 2005; Mayoux, 1995). The one that focuses on strengthening the process participation regards participation as the way poor or marginalized people exercise their voices through deliberations, consultations, mobilization and influence of policies (Gaventa, 2002).

Supporting this idea, DFID argues that citizens' rights such as the right to participate in decision-making will become real when they are engaged in the decision-making process (ibid). In a similar way the UNDP argues that it is not enough to have elections and guarantee participation. It is important to consider how people including marginalized people participate in elections (UNDP, 2000). This is because the way people participate can explain their level of involvement as well as influence the outcome of their participation. A critique of this school is that it places more emphasis on the process and ignores outcome of people's participation.

Another school of thought diverges from the first one that places emphasis on process of participation by arguing for the reformation of institutions and policies governing participation. At its core this school emphasises that effective participation can only be achieved by strengthening political institutions that govern people's participation (Cornwall and Coelho, 2006; Gaventa, 2002). Supporting this line of thinking Cornwall (2002a; 2002b) argues that policies should aim to create political spaces or arenas for participation, moving out constraints or widening the scope of participation and multiplying potential sites for participation as well as boosting individual confidence in participation. This has the potential of opening opportunities for participation and giving them voice to influence decision-making which eventually creates gender equity.

Nevertheless, an implication of this perspective is that, while there is more focus on creating spaces for women to participate in governance, it assumes that the spaces will guarantee women's substantive representation (Tremblay, 2006). I argue that the creation of spaces for women to participate does not necessarily translate into substantive women representation. It is the women's voice in defending women's issues that will warrant substantive women's participation.

3.5.1 Levels of participation

Having discussed various understandings of participation and its historical development in the previous section, this section presents and discusses levels of participation with the aim of showing different degrees of participation that individuals may have. In this regard, participation exists on different levels depending on the degree of involvement that people/ stakeholders have. Arnstein (1969) for instance, divides participation into three levels or forms: non participation, partial participation and genuine participation. In non-participation, decision-making is done by officials and experts without involving stakeholders. In partial participation, stakeholders are not involved but consulted while in genuine participation all the stakeholders are involved in decision-making directly from planning, implementation up to evaluation. Similarly, Arnstein classifies participation into three levels. Level one is the highest level in the Arnstein's participation ladder. At this level people are in a position to influence, have a say in decision-making and their opinions are taken into account and acted upon. In level two, people are involved in an organization or community activities but only a small number make important decisions and inform the majority about new policies or what action to take. Level three is the lowest level of participation on Arnstein's participation ladder. At this level people have no say or influence on decisions made and the general operation of a community or organization. Additionally, the majority of people have no power to make or influence decisions but usually go along with decisions made by others.

The analysis of Arnstein's classification of participation levels shows that, it is not always the case that participation increases as one goes high up the ladder and vice versa. Each level is appropriate at different times and contexts to meet the expectations and interests of different stakeholders. Similarly, Arnstein's levels of classification are criticised by considering individuals as non-static and ignores surrounding dynamics such as cultural norms that have a significant role to play in defining levels of participation. Equally important, Arnstein's

classification does not include an analysis of blocks to achieving genuine levels of participation (Kinyashi, 2006).

In 2010 Agarwal came up with six levels of participation that are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The Agarwal's six levels of participation

S/No	Form/Level of participation	Characteristics
1	Nominal	The act of being member in a group
2	Passive	Being informed of decisions ex post facto, or attending meetings and listening in on decision without speaking up
3	Consultative	Being asked an opinion in specific matters without guarantee of influencing decisions
4	Activity specific	Being asked to (or volunteering to) undertake specific tasks
5	Active	Expressing opinions, whether or not solicited or taking initiatives of other sorts
6	Interactive (empowering)	Having voice and influence in the group's decisions, holding positions as office bearers

Source: Agarwal (2010:172).

Table 1 above indicates that Agarwal's six levels of participation are hierarchical in nature and that participation increases as one moves from lower level to the higher one and vice versa. According to Agarwal (2010) participation is nominal when a participant acts as a member of a group. Participation is passive when a participant is informed of decision ex post facto or attends meetings, assist in decision-making without speaking up and consultative when a participant is asked to provide opinion without a guarantee of influence in decisions. Agarwal refers to participation as activity specific when a participant is asked to volunteer or undertake specific tasks. Agarwal also refers to participation as active when a participant expresses an opinion, whether or not solicited or taking initiatives of other sorts. The last level the highest level of participation is the interactive or empowerment level. This happens when a participant has a voice and influence in the group's decisions, holding positions as office bearer. From the analysis of levels of participation, it is evident that participation can be classified into various levels. However, this study opts to use the Agarwal's six levels of participation for analysis of results on how women participate in decentralized local governance. This is because unlike Arnsteins's levels of participation, Agarwal's six levels of participation are relevant to this study as they are recent, practical and concerned with enhancing participation through empowering participants, which is the main thrust of this study.

3.6. Understanding women participation

Women's participation in governance is increasingly becoming a global issue as women constitute slightly more than 50 per cent of the world's population, yet they are hardly represented in decision-making organs (IPU, 2010). Many past feminist movements have been centred on integrating women in decision-making organs with the view that will bring about reforms desirable for the betterment of women's concerns (Darcy and Welch, 1994). The report by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) of 2012 shows that over the past ten years progress has been made in the numbers of women participating in governance. Existing information from IDEA shows that out of the 192 United Nations member states only 16 women are either elected or appointed heads of states or government around the globe by 2010. As of 2012 women make up less than 20 percent of legislators at the same time men constitute 80 percent of the total legislators in the world (IDEA, 2012). Some indication of increase in women's participation in governance has been noticed in Rwanda, which has the highest number of women parliamentarians, at 56.3 percent, followed by Sweden, at 47 percent (IDEA, 2012). Yet, the progress has been mostly in number of women representatives, with limited evidence regarding the role of women representatives in influencing policy changes (Cowell-Meyers and Langbein, 2009).

Literature suggests that the election of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf as President of Liberia in 2005 and the swearing in of Joyce Banda as President of Malawi in 2010 were important milestones in the bid to bring about policy changes concerning women in Africa. Likewise, the presence of a number of female Vice Presidents and Deputy Prime Ministers in Africa such as Dr. Aja Isatou Njie-saidy of Gambia; Joyce Majuru of Zimbabwe; Fernando da Piedade Dias of Angola suggests defence of women's issues in decision-making organs. Not only that but also women are now the leaders of key ministries such as Hon. Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala is the Minister of Finance for Nigeria; Linah Moholo is the central governor of the Bank of Botswana as well as Parliamentary Speakers for Ghana and Uganda are women. Data point out that, on average, women comprise 17 per cent of parliamentarians in sub-Saharan Africa as of 2010, which is about the same as the global average. The figure for Africa is almost six points up, in comparison to 11.3 per cent in 2000 (AWADF, 2010; IPU, 2010).

However, a challenge has always been whether or not women in decision-making positions have brought about reforms desirable for the betterment of women. Burke and Williams in

Tremblay argue that virtual representation means that there is a communion of interests and sympathy in feeling and desires between those who act in the name of any description of people and the people in whose name they act (Tremblay, 2006). Similarly, Carroll notes that even when women representative members act in ways that they are perceived as representing women, their actions may not be always look the same. They may favour different legislative solutions. Consequently, the changes in policy making that result from women's surrogate representations of women's interests will not always be unidirectional (Carroll, 2002).

The 2010 International Parliamentary Union report indicates that there has been good progress in women's involvement in governance (IPU, 2010). However, the report does not disclose what the involved women are actually doing to defend women's concerns. This is a flaw in the literature as Cooke and Kothari indicate that the focus on integrating women in governance alone ignores attributions of different causalities and the impact of women's participation in governance (Cooke and Kothari, 2001).

Gender quota

In recent decades involvement of women in governance has taken a form of gender quota. Although the first quota policies were adopted in the 1930s, these policies became increasingly popular in the 1990s and 2000s in all parts of the world (Dahlerup, 2006; Krook, 2009). Gender quota is defensible as a way of counteracting women's marginalization in political decision-making arenas through deliberate creating spaces for women in decision-making organs (Childs and Krook, 2009). Gender quota is practiced in different parts of the world, however, the modes of instituting quotas vary ranging from mandatory seats-in legislative assemblies, committees, governments and political parties-to voluntary option (Krook, 2004).

Dahlerup identifies two familiar types of electoral gender quotas that include candidate quotas and reserved seats. With candidate quotas, a minimum percentage of women candidates for election is specified and is applied to political party lists. This form of quota may be laid down in the national constitution, electoral laws or laws for respective political parties but in other instances, political parties may adopt a voluntary quota approach without any legislation. Reserved seats on the other hand are a form of women quota, which by legislation a number of seats for women for a legislature is stipulated (Krook, 2004; Dahlerup, 2005). In addition, Dahlerup observes that in some instances, quotas may be gender-neutral where a maximum

percentage of either sex is set for candidates on party lists or reserved seats (Dahlerup, 2005).

Krook particularly notes that while all of quotas types appear world over, reserved seats are common in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, party quotas are common in Western Europe and national legislative quotas are more pronounced in Africa and Latin America (Krook, 2004).

For quotas justification, the existing literature indicates that over a couple of years, women quotas have been instituted as a political measure in a number of countries in an attempt to remedy social disadvantage that women have always experienced in the selection by merit political processes. It is widely acknowledged that an open selection of political candidates has often constrained women's access to political power in larger numbers (Dahlerup, 2005, Squires, 2007).

The literature recounts effects related to socio-cultural barriers, socio-economic developments as well as political institutions (including the political culture, electoral systems and political party ideology) upon women's participation in governance (Reynolds, 1999). Similarly, Dahlerup considers gender quotas to draw legitimacy from the discourse of women under-representation due to exclusionary practices of political parties and the political institutions at large. She conceives that quotas' cardinal aim is to increase women representation in publicly elected bodies or appointed institutions as governments, parliaments and local councils (Dahlerup, 2005:141).

Dahlerup thus enlists a number of advantages accruing to the use of women quotas that among other arguments include: compensation for actual barriers preventing women from attaining a fair share in political positions; minimising shortcomings of token women in organisations; realising equal-rights citizenship; ensuring gender balanced political decision-making that entails women experiences and interests (Dahlerup, 2005:144). While such claims tend to pursue a normative account of women's historical marginalisation, parallel arguments on the initiation of women political quotas concerns women political activism, political equality, the political elite's strategic aims and the process of international norm transfusion (Krook, 2004; Squires, 2007).

Krook argues that quotas are an outcome of women's efforts to mobilise more women for political representation. She also recognises that quotas are applied by political parties due to the contagion effect and are embraced by political elites for power consolidation over party representatives and political rivals. Her third explanation for gender quotas concerns the

normative notions of equality and representation with such claims of fairness, proportionality and democratisation. Krook's final contention is that quotas influence of the global quota trends through trans-national actors and networks and through information sharing and campaigns.

Gender quotas are perceived as a justification for descriptive, symbolic and "standing for" women's representation (Childs and Krook, 2008, Krook, 2004). Similarly, Masbridge argues that gender quotas represent women descriptive representation, which is substantively and symbolically important, even necessary, for the representation of women's concerns (Masbridge, 2005). These arguments correspond to claims that underlie the Critical Mass theoretical perspective which suggests that critical masses are important for enhancing women's participation in governance and may translate to critical acts as seen in section 1.2 of this thesis.

Whilst women quotas are defended, critics argue that the women quota achieves little in terms of enhancing women's participation in governance as very often women representatives represent women descriptively but not substantially (Masbridge, 2005). In the earlier quota report series on Africa experiences however, Dahlerup observed that gender quota is nothing but a numerical compensation to women against men's discrimination. This implies that gender quota is meant to provide a numerical gender balance without considering social, cultural and political barriers affecting women's participation in governance (Dahlerup, 2005).

Medha also observed that the quota system alone is insufficient to promote women participation in governance. Some supplementary measures are essential for making quotas a viable proposition. These measures should aim at building capacity for women and attitudinal change on the part of men as well as transforming institutions governing gender relations (Medha, 2006). The challenges of the quota system have equally been echoed by scholars such as Meena who concluded that:

While special seats continue to be the most direct measure to tackle the increasing imbalance in regard to women's participation in politics, they do not seem to address in any significant manner issues concerning equity and equality in terms of political representation. The special seats arrangement should complement other efforts to transform political norms and values, which discriminate against women and other disadvantaged groups. Male dominated political parties can manipulate quotas in order to increase their numerical representation (Meena, 2003:7).

In view of the above, a critical analysis of the arguments presented in this section seem to indicate that the mere presence of women in governance is crucial to the attainment of women's substantive participation. Noted in section 1.2 of this thesis is that the most common assumption regarding participation and gender has been that women's issues are better represented by women than men. Therefore as women grow more numerous in governance they will be able to promote policies related to women's concerns. However, I argue that it is not always the case that women in governance contribute to impacting on women's issues.

3.7 Understanding dynamics of women's participation in governance

Different dynamics determine women's participation in governance and scholars have tried to explore these dynamics. This section presents theoretical discussions about the dynamics¹⁸ of women's participation in governance. While some scholars such as Childs and Krook (2006a, 2006b), World Bank (2012) link dynamics of women's participation to women's invisibility or visibility in governance, others link dynamics of women's participation with women's ability to translate policy preferences into legislative initiatives on behalf of women (Childs, 2006; Hawkesworth, 2003; Kathlene, 1995). For instance, Muller finds social norms can either provide motivation for or set restrictions for women in terms of attending public meetings (Muller, 1979). Similarly, norms can empower some people or certain groups of people whose opinions are valued to express approval or disapproval of individual's participation in decision-making (Elster, 1989; Muller, 1979). Scholars such as Elster, Muller and Gaventa indicate that social norms determine women's participation in decision-making by defining how women are expected to act in meetings.

Conway attests that social norms can either restrict or force women to participate in various decision-making activities against their will (Conway, 2001). This is also attested by Massoi (2003) who points out that social norms prevent women from accessing leadership positions in Tanzania. Many traditional norms discriminate against women participation in decision-making and regard women as having an inferior status (Shayo, 2005; Losindilo et al., 2010). Consequently, women's concerns are not properly represented as women's representatives in leadership positions are limited. Nevertheless, recent studies by Contreras and Plaza (2010)

¹⁸Refers to underlying forces that determine women's participation in governance.

and Agarwal (2010) in Chile and India respectively found that social norms are associated with values, beliefs and stereotypes which all together contributed to defining women's patterns of participation. The values, belief and stereotypes very often uphold male dominance in politics at the same time suppress women's involvement in governance. The basis of women's suppression is that involving women in decision-making has no useful purpose and that there is no potential contribution that may come from a woman.

Nonetheless, scholars such as Verba et al. (1995), Stevens (2007) and Melissa and Michelle, (2007) indicate that factors such as access to information determine individual's presence in governance. According to some scholars, access to information may constrain or motivate individuals to participate in governance which eventually determine representation of women's interests. However, other scholars show that access to information can make individuals become active or inactive participants in governance (Rubenson, 2000; Verba et al., 1995).

Contributing to the discussion about the link between the dynamics of women's participation and descriptive women's participation, the literature indicates that incentives particularly financial incentives determine women's numbers in governance. Cleaver (1999) indicates that individuals emerge in those political activities that have benefits for them and it is an obvious fact that those activities which don't have positive returns will receive less attention from individuals. Cleaver's work was built on Thibaut and Kelley's work that validates that people have a tendency of calculating tangible benefits of what they tend to do and will participate if the benefits of participation are perceived to be greater than the costs (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959). These benefits may be direct financial gain or social benefits such as involvement in or bettering community services (Wandersman et al., 1987). Studies by Sudarkasa and AWDF also confirm that women's limited numbers in leadership positions in the African continent is associated with a lack financial resources (Sudarkasa, 1986; AWDF, 2010). Most women in the continent are so poor they are not in a position to raise funds for campaigns that have become heavily commercialized (Cornswall, 2005). Meena (2003) confirms that most Tanzanian women participate descriptively because of low income. Consequently, women have ended end up voting but not being voted for or attending campaign meetings while not conducting public campaign activities (Meena, 2009).

Similarly, a report by Tanzania Gender Networking Programme indicates that women's limited access to resources affects their involvement in decision-making. The report points out that in the 2000 parliamentary elections in Tanzania, the majority of women who were involved in vigorous campaigning could not afford campaign costs. As a result, they opted not to contest for constituent seats. Some women candidates opted for a door-to-door campaigning approach, though the approach proved to be time-consuming with limited impact (Jonson and Mosha, 2004). In contrast to this picture studies by Rosenstone and Hansen, as well as Holvoet have found that incentives can determine women's behaviour in participation. This is in line with the Olson's thinking that for an individual to actively participate in politics he or she needs incentives to do so (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Holvoet, 2006a; 2006b; Olson, 1977). Correspondingly, Schram (1985) contends that human activities are based on an exchange of costs. This means that an individual's participation behaviour depends on the positive returns that one anticipates receiving by taking part in an activity.

Cornwall and Gaventa (2000) point out that power relations determine women's number in governance as it is used by social elites, mostly men, as a mechanism to prevent women from participation in decision-making, and in some cases obtain passive agreement from them as need arises. Consequently women often have no desire to participate in decision-making, but rather maintain mute compliance with the situation. Nevertheless, Cornwall (2002a) indicates that power relations shape individuals' participation behaviour as through it individuals' roles and positions are defined. Schanke and Lange confirm that in Tanzania power relations determine women's behaviour in governance as men dominate decision-making (Schanke and Lange, 2008; Msafiri, 2007).

Another look at the literature however reveals that there is also a link between power relations and women's participation in governance. Gaventa (1980) provides three dimensions of power relations that can determine women's participation in governance as well as issues to be represented by women.

The first dimension of power relations is the overt dimension. It rests on the fact that an individual "A" can make individual "B" do something which B would not have done had it not been for A. The overt dimension of power is often investigated by observing individuals'

behaviour by looking at who participates, who profits, who loses and who express himself/herself in the power relations (Hoges, 2005).

The second dimension of power relation as propounded by Gaventa is covert dimension. This dimension as opposed to overt rests on the understanding that non-participation in decision-making is explained as a manifestation of fear and weakness. Therefore in this dimension, power is used to conquer other participants in the decision-making process and prevent or exclude the others from the process. Four fundamental issues are observed in covert dimension which are: who decides what, when and how/ who remains outside, how this happens and how these processes are interconnected.

The third and last dimension of power relations according to Gaventa is the latent dimension. This dimension is slightly similar to the overt dimension except that the latent dimension does not require any use of force. In the latent dimension, an individual's decision or will are influenced or shaped or determined by another individual. Key to this dimension is the ability of individuals to influence, determine or shape other individuals' decisions (Leighley, 1995; Gaventa, 2004). Although power relations seem to be one of the key determinants of individual's presence or actions in participation, there are sceptics who question whether or not there is universality in the application of the dimensions power relations in understanding dynamics of women's participation in governance.

In addition, the literature indicates that women's interests determine women's attendance as well as actions in governance (Verbal et al., 1995; Schuster, 2007). Schuster asserts that participation is a voluntary act. An individual may decide to participate in public fora and make contributions in favour of his or her group or may decide to participate without making any contribution. Drèze and Sen (2002) contend that political participation is a valuable thing that individual citizens envy because of what it brings to the individual citizen. Parpart et al. conclude that an individual's interest determines the individual's actions in governance (Parpart et al., 2000). Although the literature suggests that the dynamics of women's participation can either determine women's presence or actions in governance, I argue that understanding the dynamics of women's participation is a complex issue. One factor cannot adequately serve to explain the issue, at the same time there is no universality in applicability of dynamics of women's participation to all categories on women.

3.8 Understanding effects of women's participation in governance

Scholars have analysed the effects of women's participation in governance via different perspectives. Some scholars assert that women politicians have a substantive effect on political decision-making and can make a difference concerning women's issues (Rosa and Mranda, 2005; Agarwal, 2009; Hugo, 2012). Others argue that it is the critical acts of women politicians that can effect real change and not a mere resemblance in sex between representatives and represented (Dahlerup, 2006; Catt, 2003).

The IPU survey held in 2000 revealed that women's participation in decision-making resulted in a shift in political priorities and outcomes, behaviour and practices. Politics in the IPU became more responsive to people's needs in general and to women's needs in particular, and showed a move towards true gender equality as a consequence of women's involvement. It also led to better democracy, increased transparency and improved governance, with a more human and gender-sensitive political approach citizens got more confidence in politics.

Similarly, Powley (2008) indicates that involving women in decision-making has brought changes in priorities that reflect women's interests in Rwanda. Powley confirms that women are mostly concerned with the allocation of resources and services, such as water, electricity housing, public safety, and health services. In a sample taken from US firms, female directors were observed as having better attendance records than male directors (Adams and Ferreira, 2009). However, Beall (2007) and Goetz (2009) argue that very often the so called women representatives have been representing their personal interests such as struggling to be re-elected in political positions by representing general voters' interests. As a result, the effects of women's participation in decision-making has remained more of an assumption than a reality to many women.

Feminist researchers argue that men and women have distinct priorities and female representatives often report feeling on obligation to represent women, recognize the existence of women's interests and share many opinions of female voters (Thomas and Welch, 1991; Swers, 1998; Reingold, 2000; Carroll, 2002; Skejeie, 1998; Mateo, 2005). Additionally, some scholars argue that women tend to differ most from men in terms of the setting of legislative agenda, proposing new bills that address women's concerns. Moreover, women in governance often take the lead to change political discourse (Bratton and Ray, 2002; Childs, 2004). Similar views are held by Mackay and the United Nations who confirm that, women in

decision-making make a difference in a “symbolic” sense where they may not necessarily act differently from men or specifically represent women interests but rather lend legitimacy to the political institutions as signifiers of justice, inclusion and recognition. The literature suggests that a decision-making organ with few women representatives may fail to recognize or to comprehend issues of great importance to women in the society and is likely to be accountable and responsive to its citizens (Mackay, 2004; UN, 2005).

Scholars such as Vijaylakshmi (2003), Ragha and Chowdhury (2002) have strongly argued that involving women in decision-making has less effect to women’s concern and priorities. In most cases women’s effects in participation has remained utopian due to the nature of women representatives. For example, the scholars argue that the establishment of the gender quota system across the world was purposely meant to bring women to decision-making organs so that they can promote women’s interests. However, experience has shown that in most places where a gender quota has been in place, there have been different outcomes from what was expected from the women representing gender quotas (Franceschet and Piscopo, 2008).

Agarwal (2010) insists that a gender composed decision-making body is critically important for good governance and the effective functioning of the institution and its outcomes. In this regard, women in local governance not only enhance gender balance but also ensure representation of their interests including defending policies that are pro women welfare within the local area. This is because women are more sensitive and concerned with welfare issues than men because of the social responsibilities assigned to them as mothers and home carers. Also women’s traditional role as the primary care giver makes them more sensitive than men to policies that have consequences to the individual’s welfare. Therefore, women are likely to support any policy or agenda related to welfare issues.

Nonetheless, Cornwall and Goetz (2005) strongly argue that there is no straightforward equation between getting women into political office and the women’s participation in decision-making. Women’s participation in decision-making according to Cornwall and Goetz has remained more hypothetical than a reality. This is because there is no guarantee that by having women in decision-making positions makes any impact in shaping women’s interests or concerns.

The former speaker of Swedish Parliament, Brigitta Dahl, observed that:

The most interesting aspect of the Swedish parliament is not that we have 45 per cent representation of women, but that a majority of women bring their experience to the business of parliament. When this pattern becomes the norm then, we will see real change (IDEA: 2002: 2).

Pant (2007) confirms that in India, women in meetings can impact the setting of the agenda and meeting outcomes. Such outcomes may include changes in meeting timing to suite women's convenience as most meetings especially in rural areas are held in the evening, the time which women are supposed to start cooking food for their families. Equally important is that when women participate in meetings for instance, priorities and projects supporting women's strategic interests will have an upper hand in the meeting's decisions. Pant continued to argue that if a woman councillor wins an election, it will provide hope to the rest of women that women's issues will be represented in decision-making organs and thus a more gender balanced governance will be achieved. The expectations that female politicians will represent women's interests in decision-making, is obvious and women's representation improves substantive outcomes for women in every polity (Grey, 2006).

However, Meena (2003) noted that there is limited substantive women's participation in decision-making organs in Tanzania. Most women in decision-making organs have not addressed any significant issue concerning equity and equality beyond increasing numbers of women's representatives in governance. Makulilo (2009) noted that although Tanzania has experienced a sound increase in the numbers of women in decision-making positions since independence, gender inequality in governance still exists. This suggests that there is a knowledge gap on the effects of women's participation in governance. In this regard, I agree with Brown's conclusion that despite women in governance, limited information exists about changes that have been brought about by women in decision-making (Brown, 2001).

3.9 Understanding pastoral women's participation in governance

Discussions about pastoral women's participation in governance can be theorized in politics of presence versus practical women representation. On the one hand the literature suggests that pastoral women in governance improve the representation of pastoral women's concerns (Flintan, 2008; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Bhasin, 2011). On the other hand the literature

also posits that it is the action of women in governance rather than their characteristics that guarantees their substantive participation (Hodgson, 2000; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Ngoitiko, 2008). Hodgson and Telle indicate that pastoral women across the globe experience poor levels of participation in governance at both national and local governance levels (Hodgson, 2000; Telle, 1998). This has often resulted in pastoral women's concerns being overshadowed by men's concerns in general political representation (Telle, 1998). However, some scholars oppose the assumption that pastoral women in governance guarantee their substantive participation (Ngoitiko, 2008; Livingstone and Ruhindi, 2011). According to Ngoitiko, Livingstone and Ruhindi, pastoral women are caught by the existing gender relations defined and socially agreed by both men and women. Gender relations in pastoral societies are unequal which has often resulted in women's low social status and very restricted roles in public life. These scenarios are said to implicitly affect the general representation of pastoral women's interests as women are regarded as having limited capacity in terms of contribution (Ridgewell et al., 2007).

That notwithstanding there is literature that points out that the limited representation of pastoral women's concerns in governance dominant in African region is due to existing limited number of the pastoral women that can stand for the women in governance (Helland, 2000; Flintan, 2007). The literature shows that pastoral women lack proper representation in governance at different levels of local governance and at the same time very few pastoral women have successfully contested parliamentary seats (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). For instance in the East and Horn of Africa where the majority of pastoralists are found in African continent, there is only a handful of pastoralist women MPs. Consequently, pastoral women have become implementers of decisions made by men (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008; Flintan et al., 2011; Flintan, 2008; WISP, 2007).

Nevertheless, the literature also indicates that understanding pastoral women's participation is a complex matter and cannot be guaranteed by women's attendance alone. Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) attest that in northern Kenya for instance, pastoral women have consistently campaigned and voted in large numbers but elected male candidates into political positions, even when a woman candidate was contesting. Interestingly, when Mumina Konso, a pastoral woman from Isiolo District in Kenya, made her interest in public to contest for Member of Parliament, she was told by many other pastoral women to run for the position of councillor,

because the role of a Member of Parliament was perceived as being too high a position for a woman to manage.

Kipuri and Rigwell as well as Joeke and Pointing, also attest that there is invisible representation of pastoral women's concerns in governance because very few pastoral women are found in leadership positions at national or local level governance in Tanzania. For instance, so far only one pastoral woman has succeeded to campaign for parliamentary seats in Tanzania and managed to be elected a Member of Parliament for Barbaig constituent of Hanang District and serves as a cabinet minister in the current (2010-2015) government regime. Similarly, despite the country operating under a gender quota system at all levels of governance, Tanzania is one of the countries in East Africa and the Horn which has the lowest number of pastoralist women representatives in governance at both national and local level (Kipuri and Rigwell, 2008; Joeke and Pointing, 1991). Nevertheless, Hodgson and Flintan et al. indicate that women's presence in governance has no correlation with their ability to influence decision-making as women are traditionally regarded as having no role to play in decision-making. It is men who dominate politics and make strategic decisions including how pastoral women should participate in public affairs (Flintan, et al., 2011; Hodgson, 2011). From the discussions above, I assume that women have limited role to influence decision-making unless permitted to do so by men.

3.10 Understanding dynamics of pastoral women's participation in governance

Numerous reasons have been advanced in the literature to explain the dynamics of pastoral women participate in various sectors of life including governance (Hodgson, 2011; Flintan, 2008). While some scholars link the dynamics of pastoral women with women's visibility in governance, others link the dynamics of pastoral women's participation with the women's actions in representing pastoral women's issues. Scholars such as Hodgson (2000), Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) as well as Flintan et al. (2011) represent the school that holds that women participation is related to visibility. In the main they argue cultural values and norms determine pastoral women's visibility in governance by imposing a wide range of restrictions on women including restricting mobility and binding women to performing domestic activities. On the other hand Ngotiko (2008) and Hodgson (2000) represent the school that is of the view that women participation in governance is related to their substantive participation. For instance, Ngotiko points out that pastoral women such as Maasai women are traditionally not allowed to speak in public meetings unless allowed to do so by men

(Ngoitiko, 2008). This is often associated with socialization. At an early age young girls are socialized to accept their role as their mothers helpers, who are themselves subordinate to their husbands. As the girls grow older and enter marriage, they also occupy the same position as their mothers in the household (Hodgson, 2000).

In addition, Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) show that that Maasai women and girls are socialized to have two voices, one for normal conversation and another 'little voice' used to demonstrate respect for men. Boys and men are not required to change their voices at any time. The socialization has been a powerful tool in determining and moulding women's behaviour that to a large extent determine women's substantive in governance (Hodgson, 2000). Related to socialization is pastoral women and men's believe that women are the weaker sex and are required to obey, respect and submit to the leadership of men (Hodgson, 2011). This kind of belief frames women as having a lower position in decision-making than men at the same time offers men the legitimacy to rule women (Hodgson, 2000).

With respect to the pastoral dynamics of pastoral women and numerical participation, the literature shows that pastoral women are tied up with a wide range of activities such as: milking, fetching water and firewood, preparing food for the entire family, repairing houses and tending to small children. These activities consume much of the women's time and limit the women's time which they can spend participating in public life (Hodgson, 2000; Flintan et al., 2011). Moreover their domestic activities limit time women might have to attend many of the social occasions at which men make decisions that affect the whole community (Hodgson, 2000). Consequently, it is not common to find pastoral women involved in decision-making in local or national governance as due to work burdens most of them cannot commit themselves to attending meetings or other public events (Flintan, 2008). Nonetheless, the literature shows that even though pastoral women have an opportunity to attend public meetings, they are constrained by pastoralist cultural traditions to represent women's concerns in the meetings (Hodgson, 2000). The traditions portray pastoral women as the weaker sex with an obligation to obey, respect and listen to men's directives (Hodgson, 2011).

Hodgson and Bhasin also indicate that pastoralist traditions regard women subsidiary to men therefore they cannot make any substantive contribution on their own unless under supervision or directive by men (Hodgson,2000; Bhasin, 2011). Pastoral men are generally

known to dominate decision-making, the general leadership in pastoral societies is male in style and the concepts of power and authority are male centred (IFAD, 2003; Flintan, 2008).

Worse, culturally pastoral men are mandated to punish women by beating if they are not happy with women's behaviour (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). From the discussions above, I assume that pastoral men have control over women's participation beyond numbers as it depends on men's perception or feeling about women's participation.

3.11 Understanding effects of pastoral women's participation in governance

Existing studies present two opposing viewpoints concerning the effects of pastoral women's participation in governance. On the one hand studies such as Flintan (2008), Flintan et al. (2011) and Wangui (2008) argue that involving pastoral women in governance brings policy changes concerning pastoral women. For example, Dr Jacqueline Sultan-a cattle breeder from Guinea-who is a member of the AU specialist task force on the pastoral policy framework for Africa has ensured that pastoral women's issues become central to pastoral policies that are being developed in the African Union. Additionally, Dr Smith believes that prioritising women's issues will constitute a start, bringing women into pastoral policy formulation processes to voice out their needs (Pastoralist Voices, 2008).

Similarly, Lucy Mulenkei from Kenya has made a number of contributions in many policy making (international and national) forums including the Africa regional expert meeting, indigenous rights in the commonwealth project in Cape Town 2002. Amongst her contributions is a call for indigenous women to have some level of assertiveness and empowerment to be able to pursue judicial remedies and be brave in fighting for their rights. Additionally, she calls for the political will of policy makers at the highest levels to make progress in this respect (Mulenkei, 2002).

That notwithstanding, Elmi et al. (2000) found that in Somalia and Kenya pastoral women play a crucial role in solving conflicts by praising victory and success as fruits of peace and stability instead of enmity. Likewise, Bhasin (2011) found that pastoral women were agents of positive change to the environment crucial to pastoralist livelihood through the survival of their livestock, the main source of pastoralist income. These examples provide a testimony that if more pastoral women are involved in governance they will bring positive changes about pastoral women.

However, studies such as Hodgson (2000), Ngoitiko (2008), Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) as well as Telle (1988) show that the presence of pastoral women in governance has little impact on decision-making. These scholars argue that in pastoral societies, both pastoral men and women believe in undisputed fact that pastoral men have a right to own pastoral women. Therefore, unless a man decides, women's participation in governance cannot have impact.

Likewise Flintan (2008) observed that although women have been involved in decision-making at the different levels of the local councils, pastoral women's involvement in the councils has had limited impact. Most of the women have the feeling that they need to be very strong and courageous to stand up and address issues in mixed gatherings or meetings. In this regard, I argue that although there are statutory provisions for women's participation within the local council structures in Tanzania, the impact of pastoral women's participation in local governance is likely to be limited.

3.12 Conceptual framework

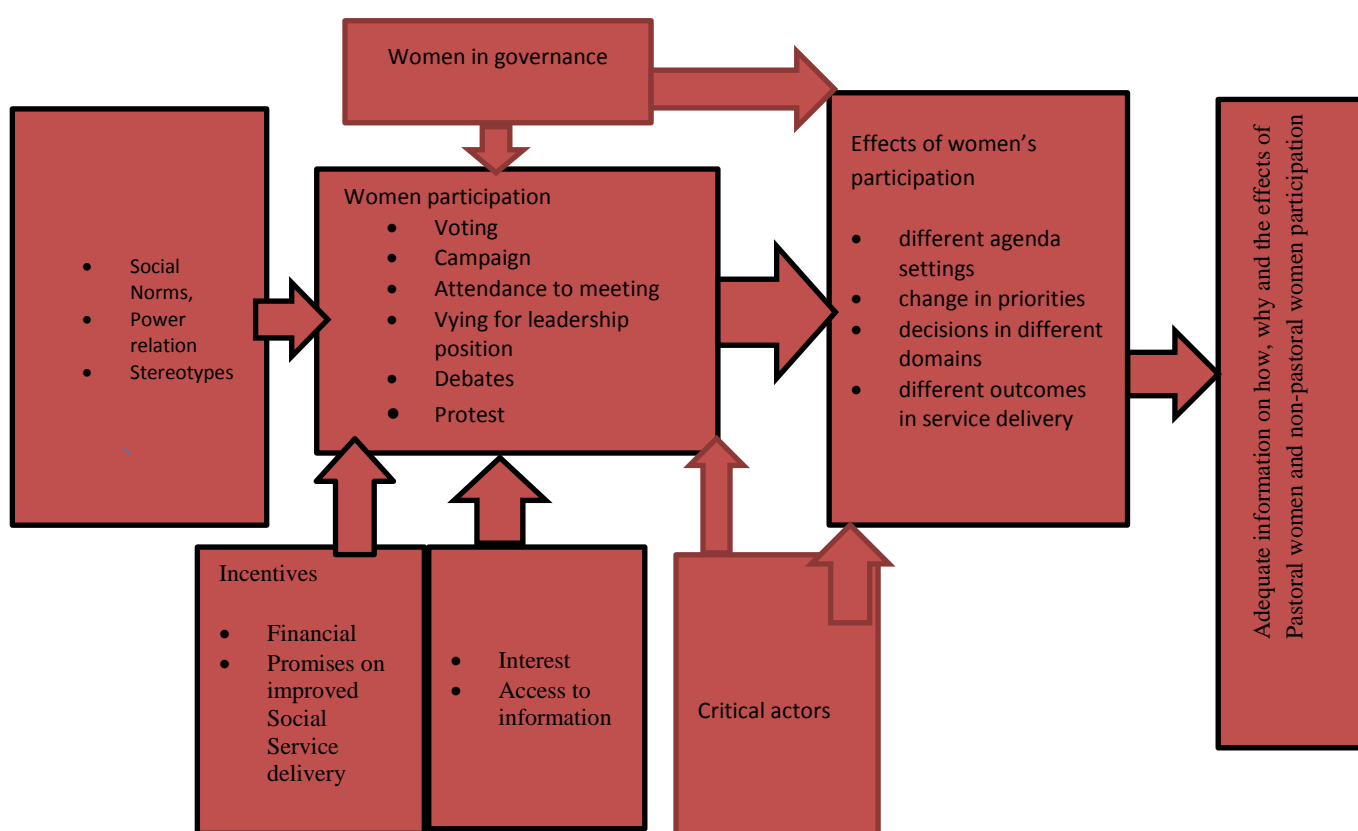
Having presented the main theoretical aspects and discussions concerning participation, women participation, pastoral women's participation and decentralized local governance, this section presents the conceptual framework. A conceptual framework is a visual or written product that explains either graphically or in narrative form, main issues to be studied, key factors, concepts, or variables, the presumed relationships among them and how the concepts or variables are measured (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In the present study, I define women's participation as a process whereby women have voice or voices to influence decisions in voting, campaigning and attending meetings, vying for leadership positions, participating in public debates, protests and decision-making organs beyond numbers. In this study, on the one hand I conceptualize that women in governance stand for women's issues. This is based on literature that argues that there is an essential link between the sex of a representative and representation. Therefore, women are better represented by women representatives than men representatives. In addition, women representatives always act for women and have an impact to women's issues. On the other hand I conceptualize that critical actors are essential in representing women's concerns. The rationale of my assumption is that when examining women's participation it is crucial to focus on what specific actors do to represent women's concerns and not the sex of representatives. There is a difference between representatives and what they do when it comes to representing women's interests (Figure 4).

Furthermore, I conceptualize in this study that different dynamics such as social norms, power relations and stereotypes, incentives, individual's interests and access to information determine women's participation in governance (Figure 4). This assumption is derived from theoretical discussion that these dynamics determine the level of women in governance and what women do to represent women's issues.

Additionally, I conceptualize that women's participation in governance has an impact in different agenda settings, change in priorities, decisions in different domains and different outcomes in service delivery. This is in line with literature that argues on the one hand that women in governance bring about policy changes, and on the other hand that critical actors bring legislative changes concerning women (Figure 4).

In summary, I indicate in this conceptual framework that by understanding how and why women participate in governance, and the effects of the same, provides adequate information regarding women's experience in participation in governance. Figure 4 below summarizes the conceptual framework of the study with the expected outcome.

Figure 4. Conceptual framework model



3.13 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have indicated a historical overview of decentralized local governance and gender in Tanzania as well as a general understanding and discussions about decentralized local governance and gender. In addition, I have indicated on the one hand that the inclusion of women in decentralized local governance may enhance the representation of women's issues, and on the other hand I have shown that there is no link between women's involvement and women's substantive participation.

As far as understanding participation is concerned, I have indicated in this chapter that the concept of participation is a complex one which has a variety of meanings depending on the context in which the term is used. Broadly, participation can either refer to descriptive or substantive involvement of individuals in an activity. Whereas the descriptive understanding focuses on the individual's presence at an activity, substantive understanding concerns individuals' actions or roles during participation. Additionally, some scholars define participation as a means to an end or an end in itself. This understanding emphasises goal attainment and empowerment respectively as key to participation. Others indicate that participation is a process or change of governance institutions that brings individuals into the decision-making process. In this study I conceptualize participation as the ability of an individual to have voice and influence decisions as it is relevant to the study.

Equally, I have shown in this chapter that there are several levels in which participation exists as presented and discussed in this chapter. However, most of the levels presented and discussed are hypothetical and overlook the role of cultural norms in explaining the degree of participation. I opted for Agarwal's six levels of participation in the analysis of the results in this study. My choice of Agarwal's levels of participation was based on its relevance to the study as the levels are concerned with enhancing participation through empowering participants.

Also, I have indicated in this chapter that there are different dynamics which influence pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation. The literature provides two opposing viewpoints regarding the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in governance. On the one hand, it indicates that there is a link between the dynamics of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation and women's manifestation in governance, and on the

other hand the literatures suggests that the dynamics of women's participation are linked to women's actions in governance.

From the theoretical perspectives and discussions, I formulated a conceptual framework for this study. The conceptual framework indicates that, participation in this study is measured by women's involvement in voting, campaign, attendance to meetings and vying for leadership position, participation in public protest, debates as well as in decision-making organs. Likewise, social factors, incentives and voluntary factors were assumed to determine the dynamics of the women's participation in decentralized local governance. I have equally shown that women's participation has an impact on agenda setting, changes in priorities, decisions on different domains as well as different outcomes in service delivery. In the subsequent chapter, I present the results and discussion for the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

Empirical research and discussions

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present empirical research and discussions for the study which is organized into two separate case studies. In the first case study I present results and discussions for pastoral women's experiences in participation within decentralized local governance. In the second case study I present results and discussions for non-pastoral women's experiences in participation within decentralized local governance¹⁹. In both case studies I link presentations and discussion of results to the study research questions which formed sub-headings in each case study. At the end of this section I provide a comparative analysis of results between the cases.

Case study 1. Pastoral women's experiences in participation in decentralized local governance

Section 4.2.1 How do pastoral women participate in decentralized local governance

As noted earlier in section 3.9 of this dissertation, there are two opposing views in the literature regarding pastoral women's participation in governance. On the one hand it is suggested that pastoral women represent pastoral women's concerns, and on the other hand this view is challenged by focusing on what actors do in participation. In view of the above assumptions, it was of interest for this study to explore information regarding how pastoral women's participate in governance. In order to do so, eight variables were used to explore information so as to answer the first research question concerning how pastoral women participate in decentralized local governance. The variables were: voting, attendance to meetings, political campaigning, vying for leadership positions, public debates, and protests and participation in decision-making organs.

¹⁹Many decentralized reforms have been taking place in Tanzania since the country gained independence in 1961, however, in this study the Local Government Reform programme which started in 2000 and lasted for ten years will be referred to in the results and discussion.

4.2.1.1 Pastoral women's participation in voting

Voting is a democratic method used by individuals to make a choice between two or more options in an election. The choices are usually made by individuals out of free will and thus a decision to vote or not to vote is democratically considered the same. However, in some countries, such as Belgium, voting is compulsory. In the majority of countries including Tanzania, citizens are free to participate or not to participate in voting. In this study we conceptualize voting as an act of casting a ballot carried out by an individual with no personal characteristics other than the citizenship and the possession certain rights. It concerns the individual's freedom to vote or not and whom to vote for. In this regard it was assumed that women were free to decide whether or not to vote. Another assumption is that, how the women voted was likely to have a correlation with the women's view over a candidate or a political party they voted for. This is because voting is normally done after campaign activities during which candidates and political parties present their policies to the electorate. The electorate after carefully scrutinizing candidates and or political party policies makes the decision to vote for or not to vote for a candidate. Likewise, it was also assumed that the women voted for a candidate after they had scrutinized information about the candidate and found a suitable one to vote for. Similarly, women are likely to choose a candidate who stood for women's interests and strategic needs such as maternal health, education and water. At the same time when there are two candidates (man and woman), women are assumed to vote for a female candidate but not a male one. These assumptions are based on the theoretical literature that emphasizes a link between participation and the sex of participants (Krook, 2004; Childs and Krook, 2009). From the above assumptions the following questions guided me when exploring pastoral women's participation in voting. Were the women free to vote or not to vote? Did the women have adequate information about the candidate they voted for? Did they scrutinize information about candidates they voted for? Did they vote for a male or female candidate? Did they vote for candidates who were pro women's strategic interests or gender?

The results indicated a situation that is contrary to the assumptions. Pastoral women were participating in voting but they were not free to vote or not despite the country's constitution providing freedom to vote as indicated in the following responses:

It is not possible to decide to stay at home while others are going to vote. I remember when the voting day came we were all told by our husband that we must go to vote because it was a government directive. So we all went...²⁰.

Another respondent had this to say:

Women vote the way the man wants them to vote because if a woman is married, she has to listen to her husband. It is our tradition. For instance, during a voting day a man collects his wives and takes them to the polling station and tells them that we, men have decided to vote for a certain candidate therefore we want you to vote for him. Therefore if you go against that you should not come back to my place and find your own place to stay.²¹

Also another respondent said:

There is nothing like freedom for a woman here in Maasai tribe. This is because our tradition considers a woman as a man's servant, tool and generally a fool who understands nothing and therefore must receive orders from a man. This is not good, I personally do not like and agree with²².

Similarly during focus group discussions, the women agreed that they had to seek permission from their spouses before going to vote. These results concur with those of Mitzlaff (1988) and later on with Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) who established that, women in Maasai society of Kenya depended on men to reach their voting choices. Likewise Ridgewell et al. (2007) contend that pastoral women have always been implementers of pastoral men's decisions. These results are in line with Chambers' suggestion that gender equality can only be achieved by transforming cultural systems (Chambers, 1995). Nevertheless results also revealed that the women had limited information about candidates they voted for and did not scrutinize information about the candidates. This was attested during interviews when the women acknowledged that they voted without knowing why they voted, while others voted because they saw other people voting as depicted in the following quotations:

²⁰Personal interview with pastoral woman named mama Salma, held in Rofati village on 15th October 2010.

²¹Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Adelina, held in Munigamba, Rofati village on 17th November 2010.

²²Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Kilo, held in Rofati village on 17th November 2010.

When the voting day came I went and voted. Honestly I cannot tell why I voted. Is it a problem²³?

Another responded said:

When I went to Rofati, I saw people voting, I came back and picked my card and I decided to join them²⁴.

Interestingly, some women interviewed few days after the 2010 election did not recall the candidate or political party they voted for the post of the ward councilor.

Nonetheless, during focus group discussions the women agreed that they voted for the female Member of Parliament who was also a candidate for the CCM party but did not consider gender as a key aspect of their voting as indicated in the following quotation:

You know what! We the Maasai do not want quarrels with CCM, because we love it. We voted for CCM because it is the party we know and that it has done no harm to us, therefore we like it. Let you people who are from town vote for other parties, we vote for CCM because we want peace²⁵.

During the same focus group discussions a woman was also heard to complain:

These politicians are all the same be it a man or a woman, after being voted in power they will not be seen coming back to us. Therefore it doesn't matter whom you vote for²⁶.

²³Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Upendo, held in Olboloti village on 10th May 2011.

²⁴Personal interview with a woman named mama Adelina, held in Gwandi village on 17th October 2010.

²⁵Focus Ground Discussion held in Olboloti village on 25th May 2011.

²⁶Ibid.

This signifies that at least pastoral women voted for a political party, but were less concerned about the gender of candidates they voted for. This does not auger well with the theoretical assumption that in representation, the sex of the representative matters. Not only that, these results are not congruent with the women in development approach advocating that women are in a better position than men to represent the interests of their fellow women. In that case, the women's choice of party as opposed to a female representative guarantees that only general women interests will be represented and not the women's strategic interests.

Ishii, et al. (2007) and Beall (2005) point out that ideally women become aware of their rights including their right to vote and the choices they make and therefore actively participate within decentralized local governance. However, a critical analysis of these results indicates that there is hardly a link between pastoral women's participation in voting and decentralized local governance. This is because women's voting decisions were controlled by men, also men had the final say about women's decision to vote. Therefore, I concur with Schanke and Lange's (2008) conclusion that there is a strong patriarchal system in Tanzania providing male domination in decision-making.

4.2.1.2 Pastoral women's attendance to meetings

Attendance to meetings is another important aspect of political participation in decentralized local governance, as meetings are essential places where important decisions affecting both men and women are made. During meetings, efforts to deal with community social, economic and political issues are normally raised and decided. In this study attendance to meetings refers to individual's physical presence at meetings and their making contributions during meetings by either asking questions or making an argument for or against a motion. I therefore assumed that pastoral women not only attend meetings but also raise issues. These might include women's special interests and needs such as maternal health which requires women's attendance. It was expected that they would actively defend these interests by expressing their opinions. It was our interest therefore in this study to know if pastoral women attended meetings and how they participate in these meetings. Did they pay attention during meetings? What position did they take in meetings? Did they interact and share ideas with men? Did they make contributions or ask questions during meetings? Did they express their opinions or take any initiatives to advance their interests?

The results did not match my expectations. Despite women's attendance to meetings, observations indicated that they did not pay attention to what was going on during meetings and were ignorant of what was being discussed during the meetings. This was confirmed during interviews held immediately after the meetings to cross-check the women's attentiveness to what had been discussed. Six out of eight women interviewed after a community meeting held in Magasa Village indicated that they did not know what was discussed and showed that their main role was to attend and "listen" to what was being said in meetings. When I probed the women about what "women's listening" meant they made clear it referred to being present at a meeting and had little to do with taking note or being concerned with the content of what was being discussed. These results suggest that women do not represent women. In a ward councilor's meeting held in Rofati village, seven out of ten women who attended the meeting, failed to mention at least one of the issues discussed in that meeting, despite the meeting having one agenda. The council's meeting was for the councilor to thank his voters for voting him into the office the ward councilor.

Moreover, none of the ten women who attended the meeting had raised a hand to ask a question or make a contribution to the meeting. Women were for most of the time quiet and at the same time observed the way men were talking. During focus group discussions, the women revealed that it was a tradition that, talking in public meetings was a men's role. The women's role in a society was limited to attending a public fora and listening to what men said. These findings challenge the critical mass understanding of participation which emphasizes increasing number of women in governance without considering what specific actors do in defending women's concerns. According to Agarwal's six levels of participation, physical presence at meetings without talking or contributing is the lowest form of participation. This suggests that women are not empowered to participate and therefore no attainment of intended goals will be realized. This challenges the understanding of participation as a means and an end in itself advocating that people's participation leads to individual's empowerment as well as attainment of intended objectives (Potts et al., 2003; Burkey, 1993 and Oakley, 1991).

In another observation made in Magasa village Assembly meeting, I observed pastoral women attending the Assembly, but they sat on the benches behind the men and did not sit on the benches which were set out for everybody attending the meeting to sit on. The position which the women occupied in the meeting reflected the general position which the women have in pastoral society. Generally, pastoral women have a lower position in a pastoral livelihood

setting and are considered inferior to men (Hodgson, 2000; Flintan et al., 2011; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). This therefore suggests that pastoral women's participation in meetings is restricted to the household domain rather than the public domain which is for men.

Flintan (2008) however, links the women's position in meetings to pastoralist culture that does not allow women to sit in front of men and occupy spaces before men sit down. Similarly, Hodgson (2000) was of the opinion that the existence of socially constructed stratification between men and women in pastoral societies, whereby women occupy a lower position in pastoral society than men, was responsible for explaining women's behavior in occupying positions in meetings. The social stratification had consequences on decisions made during meetings as both men and women knew that the women's position when it came to decision-making was lower than men. This resulted in a high level of male dominance in meetings in terms of contribution and decisions made to the extent that the women's presence was submerged by men. Flintan (2008) supports the idea that despite many efforts made by various stakeholders to increase women's participation in decision-making processes, these efforts have ended up making women attend meetings numerically but has had no consequences in terms of representing women's interests. Equally, the women in development approach insists that increasing the number of women in development guarantees that women address problems of women in development (Tinker, 1990). Although numerical attendance is an importance aspect of participation, Agarwal (2010) believes that it is not enough to qualify for women's active participation in meetings. Likewise, Powley (2008) insists that women need to participate in decision-making not to only fulfill numerical requirements, but equitably as part of the decision-making process if the essence of decentralizing local governance is to be met.

4.2.1.3 Pastoral women's participation in political campaigning

In this study political campaigning means an activity whereby candidates appear before voters and request their votes. It also involves individuals attending campaign meetings and questioning candidates on various issues related to policy or general peoples welfare. During campaigns individuals get an opportunity to listen to promises made by candidates or political parties, at the same time the candidates make themselves known to the electorate. It was assumed that, pastoral women being part of the electorate, meant that they would attend campaign meetings and listen to candidates' promises. Likewise, it was assumed that pastoral

women would ask questions and persuade candidates or political parties on various issue of individual or social interest. Equally important, it was assumed that the women used campaign time to get information about candidates and political parties contesting, which are normally provided during this time. The information is normally useful to the electorate to allow them to make an informed decision on the candidates. Sometimes voters use campaign activities to lobby on certain policies or services that can result in improvements in service delivery or personal welfare.

Therefore, I used the following questions to explore information regarding pastoral women's participation in campaign activities. Did the women have an opportunity to attend campaign meetings, ask questions and persuade candidates? Did the women strive to get information about candidates and political parties contesting? Did they use information obtained during campaign to make decision like voting for or against a candidate/political party?

Through observation I noticed that pastoral women widely attended campaign meetings held in the study area between August to October 2010. However, numerically more were attracted to the ruling party CCM campaign meetings because they were accompanied by entertainment such as music and choirs performed by the top class celebrities in the music industry. The second party in terms of attracting pastoral women's attendance at campaign meetings is the main opposition party CHADEMA mainly due to their use of Helicopter to fly their candidates from one place to another. These entertainments and the helicopter attracted people's attention and offered some sort of recreation not only to pastoral women but to the majority of rural people in Tanzania.

Through observations, I noted that some pastoral women were used by campaigners to perform cultural dances and songs to entertain the general public at the campaign meetings. Immediately after the entertainment they sat down and waited for further instructions from the campaign organizers who were men. This can be interpreted as "activity specific" form of participation (Agarwal, 2010). During interviews with one of the women, the following was revealed:

We only listened to what they tell us. Do you think that I can have something to ask them? No I don't²⁷.

²⁷Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Kilo, held in Rofati village on 17th October 2010.

Likewise, I observed that the women attended campaign meetings but none of them asked a question or questions or demanded elaboration of a point from the candidates or their parties despite sometimes being given opportunity to do so. Some women complained that they had no prior information about the campaign meeting. The lack of information about the meetings is common for opposition parties compared to the ruling one. This is ascribed to the fact that the ruling party-CCM is a mass party with branches from the grassroots to national levels and that the party has been ruling the country since independence.

During interviews it was revealed that women never bothered approaching candidates contesting or political parties to demand that they address their interests because of limited time.

In the morning I have to wake up, do the milking, and prepare milk for my children including those who go to school and herders. I do not have time to start thinking about those who are contesting. I did vote but then a lot of people contested, now if you start looking for their information I don't think it is possible, it is wastage of time, and I have a lot of things to do as a woman²⁸.

These results suggest that when dealing with issues of women's participation in governance, it is necessary to examine and consider institutions or day to day activities or roles performed by women (Rathgeber, 1989).

In the focus group discussions held in Magasa, all the participants agreed that they voted in the 2010 election but they did not have time to obtain prior information about the candidates before they went to vote. This was noted by one group participant in the following:

You know sir, what you are saying is not possible for us. Maybe that is possible for the waswahili because at least they know the Members of the Parliament. Personally, I don't know him and I am certain that many of us do not know the Member of Parliament because we hardly see them coming to visit us²⁹.

²⁸Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Adelina, held in Munigamba, Rofati village on 17th November 2010.

²⁹Focus Group Discussion held in Magasa village on 22nd March 2011.

These results suggest that pastoral women participated passively in the campaign activities as per the Agarwal's six levels of participation. This is because the women's participation in the campaign did not help them acquire information that helped them make voting decisions. Nor did they use the campaigns to make the candidates aware of their problems and interests so that they could deal with them once elected. In this regards, the essence of involving women with the assumption that they will represent women's interests does not apply to pastoral women. Therefore I concur with Pallotti's conclusion that generally people's participation in decision-making as propagated by the Local Government Reform Programme in Tanzania has been much lower than was expected (Pallotti, 2008).

4.2.1.4 Pastoral women's participation in vying for leadership positions

Vying for leadership positions is considered as another form of political participation and is one of the fundamental rights which every citizen irrespective of gender is entitled to. Most countries in the world emphasize granting this right to their citizens as the way of enhancing democracy and mechanisms for peoples' participation in governance. In Tanzania this right is enshrined in Section 21 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, 1977, emphasizing that every Tanzanian has the right to take part in matters pertaining to the governance of the country. Equally important, women's participation in vying for leadership positions is one of the key items on the government agenda in Tanzania to enhance women's participation in governance. Therefore numerous efforts have been made by the government including decentralization of state power to local level so as to enhance participation in decision-making for vulnerable groups including women to enjoy this constitutional right. In view of the above, it was assumed that pastoral women would vie for leadership positions as governance was brought closer to them. Basic questions I used to guide me in my exploration of information regarding pastoral women's participation in vying for leadership positions included the following. Were the women aware that they have a right to contest? Did the women contest leadership positions within their locality? Which positions did they contest?

Results reveal that although pastoral women were aware that they had the right to contest leadership positions, the women were also aware that they were circumscribed by a culture that imposed constraints on that right. This was depicted in the following question:

Do you mean that even we, the Maasai women have a right to contest for leadership position³⁰?

The women had a notion that leadership positions were reserved for a certain category of people particularly men. The women's acceptance of this view underpins traditional values and means that women were inactive in terms of vying for leadership positions (Flintan, 2008; IFAD, 2003).

This was evidenced during the October 2010 elections in Tanzania, in which none of the candidates in the four villages studied was a pastoral woman. The women were mostly observers as men and non-pastoral women were contesting various leadership positions. However, during interviews, it was revealed that few pastoral women attempted to take part in leadership positions in the villages, but they faced many and serious challenges from men especially their spouses. Those women who attempted to contest leadership positions were seen by pastoral societies including their fellow women as violating traditions and sometimes beaten by their spouses or men. In an interview with a pastoral woman, the following was attested:

I aspired to contest for the post of ward councilor under special seat nomination. One day I woke up in the morning and left for Kondoa to collect the form for nomination My desire to contest for the post was cut short, because when I returned home from Kondoa with the form in my hand, I was severely battered by my husband because I went to collect the form without his knowledge and consent. The form was even torn into pieces.³¹

Sometimes pastoral women encounter the risk of being abused when they decide to vie for leadership position as noted from the following respondent.

³⁰Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Upendo, held in Gwandi village on 20th February 2011.

³¹Personal interview with a pastoral woman who preferred anonymity, held in Gwandi Village on 20th February 2011.

I wanted to contest for a member of the women representative for CCM in our party branch. However, on my way to the village to collect the forms for nomination, I met a group of three young men; I did not know where they came from. The young men asked me where I was going and the purpose of my trip. After I had informed them, they pulled me off the road and started beating me severely using migunga³², to the extent that I sustained injuries on my back side. Fortunately enough they heard some people talking as they came along the same road. When the people came nearby, the young men ran away and left me lying on the ground with a part of my lips injured and bleeding. When the people came, they felt sympathy on me and got me on one of their bicycles and took me to Gwandi hospital³³.

In the same vein another pastoral woman in Rofati village attested that she contested the post of ward councilor but her name was dropped at a preliminary stage without strong reason:

I contested for the post of councilor but my name was dropped at the village level because men said that I would disturb them and would become irresponsible for my family³⁴.

As if that is not enough some women also attempted to contest leadership positions but were severely beaten by their spouses and sometimes divorced. In an interview with a pastoral woman (a Maasai woman) from Rofati village it was revealed that she was divorced because she contested the chairpersonship of a women's group and won.

I came back to Kondoa after being divorced by my husband in Dakawa Morogoro, where I was initially staying. This is because I contested for a position of a chairperson of a women group in Dakawa without his permission. Therefore when my husband realized that I was a chairperson of the women group, he decided to divorce me and send me back to Kondoa, where my parents are. That is why you find me here. However I still want to pursue my dream³⁵.

³²Is a type of tree species popularly used by pastoralist to make sticks which most of pastoral men traditionally used to carry. The sticks had many uses including being weapon and also for caning women and children as a way to discipline them.

³³Personal interview with pastoral woman named Anastasia, held in Rofati village on 15th February, 2011.

³⁴Personal interview with a pastoral woman named H. Chigali, held in Rofati village on 15th February 2011.

³⁵Personal interview with pastoral woman named Festa, held in Rofati village on 22nd January 2011.

During focus group discussions, some participants expressed interest in vying for leadership position, but they did not contest.

*I am interested in contesting for leadership positions but the problem is that we don't know to speak Kiswahili as well as English. How can we become leaders while we are ignorant? They will laugh at us. The government itself looks down upon us as weak and useless persons to contribute in leadership. Personally, I am ready to contest, if the government motivates us to take part in leadership, otherwise we will continue remaining as "sheep"*³⁶.

When I probed for clarification about the word "sheep", it was revealed that sheep were characterized as quiet and dormant animals; they followed everything their master said or ordered them to do. This suggested that although pastoral women indicated being marginalized by the government from vying for leadership positions, a critical examination revealed that the women's problem of marginalization was not entirely associated with the government's domain. This is because various efforts have been made by the government to enhance women's participation in governance including the adoption of a policy of affirmative action which provides for one third of women representatives in all decision-making organs to be women. Wangui (2008) attests that in pastoral societies, participation in decision-making is linked to gender embedded in cultural setting. Women are regarded as men's property and have a low social status to the extent that they are not supposed to contest for leadership positions. Among Maasai pastoralists for instance, only male elders were entitled to offer leadership, manage issues of public interest as well as make decisions in the pastoral community (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008).

In an interesting situation however, a 75 years old widowed pastoral woman in Magasa Village also revealed that she was interested in becoming a leader but she did not specify which leadership position. The woman indicated that she had interest and the ability to lead. The woman's interest in vying for a leadership position was out of the ordinary culture and somehow unique for pastoral women of Kondoa. The uniqueness of the woman's interest is anchored on her advanced age and the fact that it defies cultural aspects that bar women from taking part in leadership in pastoral societies. More important, the woman's interest seems to add credence to studies that have indicated that pastoral women have interest in leadership positions and indeed hold such positions in Tanzania, Africa and the World at large. For

³⁶Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Bunge, in Gwandi village on 15th February 2011.

instance, there was one pastoral woman who contested for Member of Parliament and won in Tanzania, likewise in Kenya and Ethiopia there were two and three pastoral women members of Parliaments respectively (Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). Similarly, in Pakistan there was an indication that pastoral women's participation in public life had been improved (Flintan, 2008). This challenges the general held view that pastoral women cannot compete for leadership positions.

Nonetheless, general results in this section are in line with IFAD's (2003) conclusion that pastoral women's participation in leadership positions is still a challenge as generally political life in pastoral societies is still male dominated. This contrasts with the gender and development approach that emphasizes solving problems of women's discrimination by involving men (Elson, 1991). Therefore it is appropriate to examine and consider relationships between men and women in dealing with women's subordination (Rathgeber, 1989; Razavi and Miller, 1995).

4.2.1.5 Pastoral women's participation in public debate

Participation in public debates is one of the pillars in modern democracy which decentralized local governance upholds. In this study participation in public debates means the individual's freedom to be involved in public discussions and make arguments as individuals or as a group sharing similar interests.

Therefore, I used the following questions to guide me in search for information on pastoral women's participation in public debates. Did pastoral women have opportunities to participate in public debates? Were the women free to participate or not to participate in debates? Which kind of debates were the women participating in? My assumption was that, women would be free to participate in debates especially those that focus on service delivery as Flintan (2008) suggested that, being home managers, pastoral women would be concerned about issues of service delivery.

It was however revealed that pastoral women did not participate in public debates though there is no law in Tanzania that prohibits women from doing so which clearly indicates that legally pastoral women are allowed to participate in public debates.

Nonetheless, through observations I noted that pastoral women had a tendency of distancing themselves in public debates that involved both men and women and most of the time the

women refrained from participating in arguments which involved men. This was attributed to pastoralist tradition that insists that men and women in pastoral societies are not supposed to argue or get involved in arguments as attested in the following statement by a pastoral man:

It has been like that, whenever men are talking or discussing something a woman is not supposed to contribute unless asked to. She is not supposed to be seen around men when men are discussing. She has to be in the kitchen or stay with her fellow women. Women themselves know that, she should not be close to where men are seated. It is our culture. She only comes to serve food and collect dishes after the men have finished eating³⁷.

Likewise, in those conversations that involved women alone, I observed that women's conversations were conducted in low voices and most of the women's conversations did not contribute to debates beyond nodding. At most the women were observed talking among themselves only but not debating or arguing against each other. During focus group discussions participants agreed that:

Traditionally it is immoral for the women to debate and that a woman who participated in debate is regarded to have deviant behavior. In short we don't have such a habit³⁸.

Similar findings were observed by Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008), a fundamental behavior for Maasai women was to have low voices that demonstrate respect to men and that it was regarded as uncultured behavior for women to involve themselves in arguments or to speak loudly. The above scenarios challenge the theoretical assumption that participation as a process strengthens women's ability to have voice and control as well as confidence in governance (Cleaver, 1999; Gaventa, 2002; Cornwall, 2008). This suggests that, pastoral women's participation in governance does not in any substantial way lead to gender equality beyond the balance of numbers.

³⁷Personal interview with Mr. Kilo, held in Rofati village in July 2012.

³⁸Focus Group Discussion at Olboloti village on 22nd May 2011.

4.2.1.6 Pastoral women's participation in public protest

Protest is conceptualized in this study as an instrument or tactic used by people to bring pressure to office bearers or actors in the political system for the purpose of achieving collective goals. The main features of protest are street demonstration, acts of violence, and or action aimed at creating maximum inconvenience for the social order. All these features are commonly used to express anger by those who are marginalized and are considered positive assets of bargaining. Pastoral women like any other marginalized group are assumed to use protest as a means to pressure the political system. This study addressed the issue through the following question. Did pastoral women use street demonstrations, violence acts or create inconvenience for the social order to pressurize the political system?

Contrary to our assumptions, results show that women did not take part in any public protest. The women maintained a certain civic calm and viewed public protest negatively as an activity that is unethical, disloyal to the government and the kind of action that is confined to deserve certain people who are immoral, as revealed in the following quotation:

We only hear about it, we never demonstrate or go against the government, that is normally done by you the waswahili³⁹.

When I asked why the “waswahili” the following was revealed:

You, the waswahili are very talkative and you are less fearful to the extent that you can insult the government. We pastoralist do not have such a habit and we don't prefer quarrelling with the government⁴⁰.

Through observation I noted that most of the women preferred not to discuss protest against the state fearing that they would be arrested by the government. The women's calmness and loyalty was also associated with pastoralist tradition that insisted that women had to be calm and confined to their main roles in the domestic sphere. These results are similar to Kipuri and Rigdewell (2008) who observed that pastoral women unlike their male counterparts were not brought up in the public domain hence they tend to shy away from participating in public life.

³⁹Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Chigali, held in February 2011.

⁴⁰Ibid.

Attending demonstrations or creating social unrest are activities regarded as not befitting the role of women. The idea of protest is an uncommon one to most of the rural people in Tanzania as in most cases rural people tend not to be against the state. This contrasts with the notion in western democracies where it is considered a common form of political participation (Marien et al., 2010).

However, during interviews it was also revealed that although pastoral women were traditionally known to be calm and loyal to the state, they had some form of protest which they occasionally used to protest against men's oppression over women. We were informed that the women's protested in instances when men's oppression exceeded the normal or expected bounds. Such instances included the case where a man severely beat his wife and stripped her in public. When such instances happened, all women in a particular community would organize and curse by undressing signifying their strong dissatisfaction at the man's harassment. The women's act of protest by undressing was taken seriously by men and men feared the women's protest and considered it as a curse and would not want it to happen. This means that the women had ability to protest and influence men in decision-making traditionally. This concurs with Spencer (1988) who pointed out that pastoral women could protest over certain malpractices and can mitigate abuse by husbands and other men such as *ol-kishiroto* whereby the women can come together and mob a man or a woman who had violated certain sanctions. However, much as the women had ability to protest against malpractices in their communities, analysis shows that their ability was only limited to protesting against male practices within their communities. The women were unable to protest against the government and influence public decisions. This limited nature of participation in public protest can also be viewed as non-participation as it does not lead to women having voice and influence in decision-making (Agarwal, 2009). Gaventa concludes that participation will become real if the marginalized people are able to have voice and influence change in policies (Gaventa, 2002).

4.2.1.7 Pastoral women's participation in decision-making organs

Under this sub-heading my intention is to explore the manner in which pastoral women participate in decision-making organs in decentralized local governance. The assumption is that pastoral women represent women's concerns in decision-making organs. The analysis of women's participation in this study will be made on decision-making organs mandated with

governance powers as per the Local Government Act No.7 of 1982 in Tanzania. These organs are Village Assembly, Village Council and the District Council. To explore information for the study in this section, I used the following specific questions. Did pastoral women have the opportunity to participate in decision-making organs? Did they participate in the decision-making organs? Did they ask questions or contribute in the decision-making organs? What kind of contribution did they make? Were the women's concerns addressed by the decision-making organs?

4.2.1.7.1 Pastoral women participation in Village Assembly

The Village Assembly (VA) is the highest decision-making organ in the village which consists of all residents in a village who had attained the age of eighteen years. This is according to Section 55 of the Local government Act No.7 of 1982. Section 103 (2) of the same Act provides that a VA shall meet at least once every three months. However, in practice the frequency of VA meetings varies from one village to another. Participation in the VA is open but very crucial to all residents in the village above the required minimum age because the VA is a supreme authority on matters of general policy making in relation to affairs of the village (Section 141 of the Local Government Act).

In view of the above I assumed that pastoral women's participation in the Assembly was going to be active and women were empowered to participate in this important decision-making organ. My findings reveal that VA meetings were rarely held despite provision in the law. For instance, it was revealed during interviews that in the year 2009 the VA meeting was held only once in Olboloti and Rofati villages. The infrequency of VA meetings curtails citizens' opportunity to participate in governance and limits their chances to air their views in the Assembly. Most women inactively participated in VA meetings compared to men. Most women had to seek permission from their spouses before they could attend VA whereby some were not permitted, others could not attend because their spouses were not around to be asked and very few were allowed to attend the Assembly with a condition that they should observe their tradition as women. This was verified by one pastoral woman who had this to say.

My husband has been allowing me to attend meetings in the village, but he has always been cautioning me not to let him down by speaking and arguing in the meetings because he will feel ashamed before his fellow men⁴¹.

This suggests that gender ideologies define appropriate behaviour for women's participation which are reinforced by male power over women (Razavi and Miller, 1995). During focus group discussions, participants confirmed that unless permitted by a man, a well behaved pastoral woman is not supposed to speak or argue in front of men and if it does happen, she is considered to be an outcast. One pastoral woman attested that she was expelled from her family for attempting to speak during a meeting without permission from the male elders. The matter happened during the Village Assembly meeting in Rofati Village, when she attempted in vain to seek an opportunity to contribute to the meeting. The intended contribution was to register her negative views on the common practice of widows' inheritance. Her concern was that the practice is irrational in the current era of HIV-AIDS infections. When she shouted out her position as a result of the Assembly's Chair's refusal to grant her space, nearly everybody rejected her idea and interrupted her endlessly. Some men looked at her angrily implying that she was not supposed to present such a matter. Infringement of the freedom of speech, was compounded by a group of men who convened a meeting to discuss the woman's alleged misbehavior and reached a verdict that she was not well brought up by her elders and deserved punishment that included her not being allowed to re-marry the pastoral society.

In a key informant interview with the Magasa village Chairman, it was revealed that women's participation in decision-making is not a common phenomenon in his village as elaborated in the following quotation:

It is not common in our societies for women to be involved in decision-making. This is because men do not allow their wives to participate in public affairs as our traditions specify that women should stay at home and take care of their husbands as well as children. We (leaders) try our level best to change our fellow men's attitude towards women, yet very few of us allow our wives to actively participate in Village Assemblies⁴².

⁴¹Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Neema, held in Magasa village on 12th March 2011.

⁴²Personal interview with the Village Chairman for Magasa village, held on 12th March 2011.

The observations made above clearly suggest the lack of significance of pastoral women participation in Village Assemblies. This suggests that their participation is nominal without any qualitative good. As a result, pastoral women do not pay attention to what is discussed in the Assemblies and therefore are ignorant of the deliberations of the Assemblies that they attend. This position is made clear from interviews with pastoral women held immediately after several Assemblies to cross-check their attentiveness to the deliberations of the meetings. The interviews generally reveal that most pastoral women were not aware of what was decided in the meetings because their main role was simply to attend without taking note or being concerned about what was being discussed. Such state of affair makes pastoral women attendance at meetings a passive⁴³ affair and not enough to qualify for women's active participation as their views and interests are only aired when men feel like doing so. This contrasts with Phillips's idea that women's presence in governance automatically leads to the representation of women's interests (Phillips, 1995). Moreover, the fact that women are present at meetings without taking note of what is going on contradicts the understanding of participation as an end in itself. According to Potts et al. (2003) and Cleaver (1999), participation as an end empowers individuals to have capacities to improve their lives. By being dormant in meetings undermines the empowerment aim which implies that participation can hardly improve women's lives.

4.2.1.7.2 Pastoral women's participation in the Village Council

The Local Government Act. No. 7 of 1982 provides for an establishment of Village Councils in Tanzania. According to the Act, the council is mandated to do all such acts and things as are necessary or expedient for the economic and social development of the village and district. Additionally, a Village Council is mandated to initiate and undertake any task, venture or enterprise designed to ensure the welfare and well-being of residents of the village or district. Similarly, the Village Council is legally mandated to formulate by-laws and have their own budget.

Nonetheless, the Act also establishes women's representation on the council which is supposed to be not less than 25 per cent of the total number of members in the councils. The objective is to set the position for women so as to enhance their participation in decision-making organs. Therefore, I assumed in this study that pastoral women would take advantage

⁴³According to Agarwal's six levels of participation, it refers to attending meetings and listening on decision without speaking up.

of the positions set for them as women and actively become part of the councils so as to ensure that their interests are well represented in the council.

Although the Act sets apart positions for women to participate in the council, results indicate that pastoral women had no women representatives in village councils while at the same time some pastoral men were observed in the councils. Nonetheless, all the councils in the villages maintained the statutory number of women representatives. The absence of pastoral women's representatives in the councils provides an impression that the women's participation in the village council was minimal (Krook, 2004; Childs and Krook, 2009). These findings are similar to those of Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) that confirmed that the total number of pastoralist women MPs in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda was very small which compounded the deep-rooted marginalization of the women in decision-making. Consequently, the women's voices were seldom heard as attested during interviews, when, for example, a pastoral woman showed concern about by-laws which had been approved by the Councils but were not in favor of them as pastoralists in general and as women in particular. Such laws included those which imposed penalties on pastoralists when their animals encroached and damaged peoples' farms or crops. The penalty affected pastoral women as they faced accusation and sometimes punishment from their spouses when the women presented to their spouses the fines required to be paid to farmers as a consequence of livestock encroachment and damage on non-pastoralists farms. The women had a serious concern about such laws and that it was their wish that the law could be changed to their favor. However, they could not influence changes to such laws due to lack of representation in the councils. This confirms the literature which advocates that a decision-making organ with limited number of women's representatives always fails to take on board issues of greater importance to women (Krook, 2004).

In addition to being entitled to participate in the councils as members, any pastoral woman is also entitled to meet a council member and present her agenda to the councilor so that the issue can be tabled in a council meeting. However, it was revealed during interviews that none of the women had used this opportunity to present her idea to a council member unless through her spouse. The majority of the women interviewed revealed that it was untraditional for the women to present their agenda directly to a councilor unless through her spouse or an elderly man who would present it to the councilor or relevant place on her behalf, as noted in the following quotation:

*Who will allow you to go to the village and say something to the chairman? Our men here are very jealous. If they find you talking something to men, they will think that you are going to misbehave by having sex with other men*⁴⁴.

When I probed further about men's freedom, it was revealed that men were free to interact without being misinterpreted. This by implication indicated that pastoral women's freedom of participation was limited on the ground that they would be misinterpreted by men. This entails that since men were free to interact, they stood a better chance of having their idea presented to the council.

When I asked for men's views about women's participation in the village council, most interviewed men confirmed that women were known through their spouses, who guided and provided instructions to women. Widows had to get consent from elderly men in the community or their elderly son before making any decision including the decision to participate in the village council. This confirms that pastoral women were completely outside the decision-making structure. This means that women's marginalization in decision-making has persisted as the women did not actively participate in decision-making in the Village Council. The women's inactive participation in decision-making organs had continued to underline their status as the most disadvantaged group in pastoral society despite having spaces created for them to participate. Mayoux challenges the idea of creating space for women to warrant women's participation. Mayoux points out that unless informal practices are not allowed in decision-making organs, women's participation in decision-making will be limited to numbers (Mayoux, 1995). The informal practices have always favored men at the same time putting women at a disadvantage in terms of decision-making (Pajvančić-Cizelj, 2011).

In a key informant interview discussion with the village council chairman of Olboloti Village, it was confirmed that issues of the pastoralists were handled by the pastoralists themselves through their tradition leaders. They were only brought to the village council when the leaders had failed to resolve them. This implies that pastoral women were at a disadvantage in as far as participation in decision-making was concerned, as the women lived in a strongly patriarchal system which was not in favor of the women. The system allowed men the

⁴⁴Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Petro, held in Rofati village on 13th January 2011.

dominant role in decision-making and at the same time provided no room for women to contribute to decisions made by men. As a result women were typically disadvantaged in terms of decision-making. This suggested that the gender gap in pastoral societies continued to intensify as the government left pastoralist matters to be handled by traditional leaders.

For instance, when disputes between couples occurred, sometimes leading to a divorce, a pastoral woman was often forced to go back to her parents' family, leaving behind all property she had acquired during her married life. Since all pastoralist issues were left to be handled by pastoralist leaders, such disputes were irrationally decided because pastoralist leadership was dominated by men. This challenges the critical actor's argument that men can defend women's interests (Childs, 2006a; 2006b).

4.2.1.7.3 Pastoral women's participation in the District Council

In as far as participation in the full council meetings was concerned, results indicated that there were two main ways in which an individual citizen could participate in the full council meetings. One way in which the women could participate was by becoming a member of the full council meeting. This mode of participation was reserved for the full council members only, who were found to be of three categories namely; councilors elected from constituencies, those nominated under affirmative action as well as any Member of Parliament residing in a particular constituency.

Another mode was that all citizens of a particular district were free to attend any full council meeting. This mode of participation had less restriction in the sense that it provided an opportunity to every citizen in the district to attend full council meetings. In both modes the women's participation in the council was low. The low participation was confirmed by the District Executive Director as indicated in the following quotation:

Although our District has a number of pastoralists, they don't show up. Pastoral women are particularly not showing up at all, perhaps due to their culture coupled with ignorance that make them prefer staying in bushes with little interaction with others, hence become non participants in meetings. Nonetheless we welcome them all if they can show up and participate in the full council⁴⁵.

⁴⁵Personal interview with the District Executive Director, held on 27th May 2011.

When I asked about women's awareness of the two ways in which every ordinary citizen was entitled to participate in full council meetings, the Director revealed that the district council had been making them aware through their ward representatives. However, observations made during three different meetings held in Gwandi and Mrijo wards which were chaired by ward councilors in the wards indicated no such guidance on how the women could participate in the District Council meetings.

Most pastoral women revealed that they were not aware of the modalities of participating in the full council. This indicates that despite having a decentralized local governance which aims at bringing governance to the marginalized poor, pastoral women still lacked knowledge on how to participate in decision-making organs. While few of the pastoral women indicated that they lacked time and financial resources to travel to the council headquarters where the full council meetings were taking place, I observed that most of the pastoralists' residences were located far from the ward and council headquarters, therefore it would have been difficult for the women to attend District Council meetings in the district headquarters.

However, I observed that some pastoral women were loitering around the district headquarters for various businesses but were not interested in participating in the council meetings. This implies that, although women were able to come to the district headquarters, they did not give priority to participation in the council meetings. That notwithstanding, the local government Act No.7 of 1982 which establishes the council does not provide active participation to the council for ordinary citizens apart from attendance. This is a challenge to participation in the council, because even if citizens attend council meetings, they are not allowed to contribute or raise question during meetings. This implies that from a legal point of view participation is focused on numbers only, allowing citizens to attend council meetings but without making contributions.

Apart from participating through the open system, I found that pastoral women did not feature in any membership categories, in spite of belonging to one of the dominant groups in Kondoa district. This is linked to my previous results in Section 4.2.1.4 that pastoral women's participation in vying for leadership position is low, consequently affecting their membership of the District Council. This suggested that the women had no formal representation in the full council meetings, consequently the women's voices were seldom heard. This was attested during interviews when pastoral women showed concern about a number of by-laws which were approved by the council but were not in their interests as pastoralists in general and as

women in particular. Such laws included those which imposed penalties on pastoralists when their animals encroached and damaged people's farms or crops. The penalty affected pastoral women as they faced accusation and sometimes punishment from men when the women informed their spouses of fines incurred as a consequence of livestock encroaching on and damaging non-pastoralist's farms. The women had a serious concern about such laws and that it was their wish that the law could be changed in their favor. However, they could not influence the change of such laws because of lack of representation in the full council. These results are in line with the women's descriptive representation approach which advocates that representatives can only stand for the represented if they share similar experience or characteristics. Pastoral women's lack of representation in the council is a sign of disadvantage and discrimination from participating in governance (Reynolds, 1999). Therefore these results contradict the critical actor's thinking that regardless of sex, any individual can represent women in governance (Childs and Krook, 2008).

Although results in this section indicate that pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance is generally low, a comparative analysis of the results indicate that pastoral women's participation in voting is higher than in meetings, public debates and protests, campaigns, vying for leadership positions and in decision-making organs. This is because the women were at least able to make a decision to vote, though within a limited context. The women's high participation in voting is explained by the nature of voting activity. Unlike other forms of participation such as attendance to meetings, public debates, protest, vying for leadership positions or decision-making organs which require a lot of discussion in public, participation in voting requires little talking in public. Not only that but also the high pastoral women's participation in voting can be explained by the fact that the women preferred living in a stable or non-conflict state which according to pastoral women's perception could only be attained by voting CCM, the then ruling party.

Section 4.2.2 Dynamics of pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

In the previous section, I presented information concerning how pastoral women participate in decentralized local governance. In this section, I present data about underlying forces that influenced pastoral women to participate in the way that they do. Theoretically this study assumes that the dynamics of pastoral women are on the one hand linked to pastoral women's presence in governance and on the other hand linked to the women's role in governance. I

present and discuss results for the study in this section using variables conceptualized in section 3.12. Information obtained in this section contributed to providing answers for the second research question. Why do pastoral and non-pastoral women participate in the way that they do?

4.2.2.1 Social Norms and Values

Social norms and values usually define women's and men's positions in a society, as far as participation in decision-making issues is concerned. Equally important within the norms and values, people's behaviors are also defined, explaining how people should behave within a family or societies in deferent contexts. Therefore, it is assumed that norms, values and behavior might explicitly state, prohibit or bind individuals to participate in certain activities or behave in a certain way. Depending on the strength of the norms and values in governing participation in decision-making and the way the norms are upheld, norms and values might also determine women's participation in decision-making. My interest in this study was therefore to examine the norms and values that refer to pastoral women and non-pastoral women's participation in decision-making within decentralized local governance and their strength, together with how the women uphold the norms. Do the norms and values offer opportunities for women to participate or not? How are the norms and values expecting women to participate for instance in meetings, protests, vying for leadership positions? How strong are the norms and values to women in relation to participation in Governance from one society to another? How is the women's state or behaviour in upholding norms and values in relation to participation? Are there any rewards or punishments for upholding or violating the cultural norms as far as participation is concerned?

During fieldwork I found several norms and values in pastoral societies which in one way or another contributed to explaining women's participation in decision-making. I however, drew reflection on the following norms: Bride price, traditional socialization and the practice of nomadic life. The norms and values played roles, both as constraining factors as well as enhancing factors for determining women's participation in decentralized local governance. This was due to the fact that unlike men, the women were strongly bound by the society to follow society's norms which very often negatively affected the women's participation in governance.

For instance, I observed that pastoralists wear a unique traditional cloth. The cloth distinguished pastoralists from the rest of the general public. However, I observed that while pastoral men were free to dress or not to dress in the traditional cloth, it was strictly required that pastoral women wore the material. The cloth made the women easily seen and identified thus limiting their interaction with other people, especially non-pastoralists. Sometimes men used the cloth to trace and monitor the women's movements which also limited women's interaction, consequently affecting their freedom.

Similarly, some pastoral women's dress was made out of animal skins with oil applied to it so as to make it soft, but which gave off an unpleasant odour which could also limit the women's interaction with other people especially non-pastoralist groups and make the women feel inferior. They isolated themselves from other groups of people especially non-pastoralist and had a feeling of self-denial as a normal citizen. Consequently, some women considered themselves as second class citizens who were not fully entitled to all the rights of a citizen including the right to participate in decision-making, as expressed in the following questions:

How can we contest and become leaders while we put on this animal skin? They will laugh at us⁴⁶.

This signifies an inferiority complex which was associated with dressing that also inculcated a feeling of marginalization in contesting for leadership positions.

Another way in which norms contributed to the constraints on women's participation was the practice of bride price payment as a condition of marriage. The practice was revealed to be one of the contributing factors for limiting the women's participation in decision-making as it made a married woman assume a lower status than a man and submit herself to the husband. Through payment of the bride price the husband assumes total ownership of the woman and the husband becomes a very powerful decision maker in a household. In this setting women's decisions, including movements outside the household, had to be approved by the man. This was confirmed during interviews when most interviewed women confirmed that they had to get permission from their spouses to attend public meeting. Others indicated that they did not

⁴⁶Personal interview with pastoral woman named Mama Bunge, held in Gwandi village on 15th February 2011.

participate in voting because their spouses were away during the election period therefore they could not get permission to vote.

Social norms also allowed men to dominate women and the women acknowledge that men were traditionally empowered to rule them and that it was a woman's obligation to submit to men as noted in the following remark:

A married woman must obey her husband⁴⁷.

Similar views are also confirmed by Simpson-Hebert (2005) who stated that, men own the animals and women as well as decisions at the same time leaving the women with no say about their lives.

During interviews pastoral men also confirmed that it is men who are vested with decision-making powers in pastoral societies and woman are secondary to men, as one pastoral man said:

If there is a government directive to us, men will meet in the evening discuss the matter and agreed on its implementation. Thereafter women are called and informed of the matter. Sometimes we leave it to men to inform their wives and children. We don't involve them in the discussion, it is our tradition⁴⁸.

Women receive their information second hand from the men and their actions depend on the men's willingness to provide them with information.

Similarly norms such as a nomadic life⁴⁹ affected pastoral women's participation in decision-making as often when men left for camping and grazing in another area women were left

⁴⁷Personal interview with Mama Juma, held in Olboloti village on 10th May 2011.

⁴⁸Personal interview with the Rofati Village Chairman, held in Majengo, Rofati village in September 2010.

⁴⁹A tradition of pastoralist moving with their livestock from one place to another looking for pasture. In Kondoa the movements were done during the dry season, between (August-November) when pasture became scarce, pastoralists moved with their livestock over a long distances to another place looking for pasture. The practice was normally done into two ways, depending on the distance from the residence. One way was, by maintaining their residences at one point and they moved temporarily their livestock to another place for pasture and came back after a dry season was over. Pastoral men were responsible for the movement until when the dry season was over, then they returned home with the livestock and handled them over to women and children who continued

behind and their movement outside the households limited. The women were left in dilemma in making decisions on various issues including decisions to participate or not to participate in public affairs as men who were the decision makers had moved away for grazing. Likewise, the movement also added to the women's responsibilities, because traditionally the women were responsible for building houses. Shifting residence to another place meant dismantling and rebuilding of houses in the new place. As a result, the women become overwhelmed with the necessary activities and so had little time to participate in governance activities. Moreover, the movements had a direct effect on pastoral women as some of the women interviewed revealed that they did not vote in the 2010 elections because they were in transit to another place of residence. This happened because the election law in Tanzania did not allow for a citizen to cast a vote in a polling station other than where an individual was registered.

Similarly, during interviews it was revealed that the practice of nomadic life affected participation in school board committee meetings as some members of the school boards had not been regularly attending board meetings sometimes without notice to the board. For instance, during the time of fieldwork, Rofati primary school in Rofati village had no woman board member because the only woman member of the school board who was a pastoral woman had stopped attending school board meetings without notice. They could not trace her as she had moved her residence to another place looking for pasture. The Rofati primary school head teacher noted that such cases were common to the school and inconvenient because very often the board had to look for a replacement. This is because it was a mandatory for the school board to have at least one female member on the board. This is in line with critical mass thinking that numbers are important in participation (Dahlerup, 1988; Dahlerup, 2006). Nevertheless, Childs and Krook (2006) challenge this thinking on the basis that there is no universal relationship between women's presence in governance and their participation.

Nevertheless, another traditional practice that contributed to constraining pastoral women's participation in decision-making was the unequal division of labor between men and women. Traditionally, all domestic work which included milking (Figure 5), fetching water, food preparation as well as taking care of children were a woman's responsibility. These responsibilities consumed most of the women's time; as a result the women had to spend most

grazing. Another way of practicing nomadic life was by permanent movement. This entailed a complete shift of the residence and livestock to a new place.

of their time around home and had less time to spend on other activities including participating in public affairs. Likewise, the responsibilities made them wake up earlier go to bed later than men.

In addition to her domestic activities a pastoral woman was also responsible for checking the health of livestock, taking care of the sick, and sometimes grazing and leading animals to drinking water. Herding cattle was sometimes done by young boys, however in circumstances where a family had no young boys, it was compulsory for a woman to do the herding regardless of the state in which the woman was. During the fieldwork, I observed that despite being pregnant a woman was compelled to herd cattle. In an interview with the pregnant woman, a concern was raised about her state and the herding activity which she was doing.

I am so tired and feeling uncomfortable with this pregnancy I have, but I have no alternative to leave herding because I am a woman alone in my house and my children are still young⁵⁰.

When I asked the woman about the possibility of being assisted by her husband, she replied that traditionally pastoral men are normally not required to herd cattle. As a result the woman had no time to participate in public activities such as attendance to meeting due to being occupied with such activities.



Figure 5: A pastoral woman in milking activities ©H.Misafi

⁵⁰Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Anita, held in Magasa Village, on 25 March 2011.

In addition to herding, it was also the norm that pastoral women were responsible for the task of building and maintaining houses (Figure 6). The activities of building, maintaining and dismantling houses were other time consuming activities as a result of which they had very little time to participate in public activities. During interviews, the women confirmed that the construction of a house was one of their roles but at the same time the women showed that they were held up with activities which they were not ready to trade off against public activities.

I cannot leave my children without milk to drink because of politics. I cannot go to the village unless all my activities are done. I have to make sure that my house is maintained because as a woman I have to know how to build a house⁵¹.



Figure 6: A pastoral woman in house construction. Next to the woman is her daughter who was helping the mother in the construction at the same time the daughter was gaining experience ©H.Misafi.

I also observed that in addition to building and maintaining houses, pastoral women performed domestic activities such as the preparation of food, skins, beads, fetching fire wood and water. Additionally, pastoral women were responsible for keeping children and entertaining visitors by providing food or milk at any time the visitor came to the house. These activities confined pastoral women most of the time to the home thus severely limiting opportunities to become involved in developmental activities. In most of the households I visited, I found a woman at home involved in one activity or another. In some instances men

⁵¹Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Salma, held in Rofati village on 17th October 2010.

were also found at home but did not assist the women in performing the activities which were termed as women's activities (Figure 7). These results are in line with Elster's understanding that norms were responsible for limiting women's participation in governance as norms provided women with more responsibilities than men, thus limiting the time for other activities (Elster, 1989). This suggests that although ideal decentralized local governance was meant to benefit women, with the hope that it would enhance women's participation in local governance, too much involvement in domestic activities largely prevented the women from enjoying the benefits of decentralized local governance.



Figure 7: Behind, is a pastoral woman washing dishes and a bucket while men seated ©H.Misafi

Most of the time women were more involved in activities such as herding (Figure 8) at the same time others were involved in home activities such as food preparations, taking care of children, making beads, skin to wear and fetching water. These activities which most of them were routine works constrained the women from participation in public activities.



Figure 8: A pastoral woman herding cattle ©H.Misafi

Nonetheless, I found that the general women's socialization accounted for determining women's participation in decision-making. The women were socialized to be shy and remain fearful before men and the general public. Such kinds of socialization contributed to the women looking most of the time sober and inferior to men. This affected their participation in governance as the women had to accept a lower position in a society and uphold men's ideas, pose no challenge and take no decisions. Accordingly, men took advantage of the women's inferiority complex to make decisions without involving them. Likewise, some government leaders also used the women's behavior to threaten them and order them to make decisions that suited the government leaders. This is confirmed by Powley (2008) that, sometimes local leaders tend to encourage men's participation often at the expense of women. Local government leaders rarely visited pastoralists in their places of domicile unless except for special cases such as census survey or criminality in which police officers had to reach the places and get hold of suspects. Such experiences intensified the women's feeling of fear each time when they had to have contact local leaders especially those with non-pastoralist origins, as stated by one pastoral woman in the following quotation:

In the first place I thought that you are a policeman but when I saw you with this plastic bag resembling mosquito nets, I realized that you were coming to follow up the nets which were distributed by the government⁵².

Similarly, I observed that some pastoral women ran away from me and hid in their houses for fear that I might be a police man who had come to arrest them. This state of fear significantly affected women's participation in governance. This was revealed during interviews when some women confirmed that they voted because they feared being beaten by their spouses, others feared arrest at the hands of the government if they did not turned up to vote.

Some women revealed that they did not participate in public protest and political debates because of fear of the government. The women's feeling of fear was expected as it was a common phenomenon amongst people of rural societies Tanzania that there was a tendency to fear the government. Therefore, the general women's socialization contributed to explaining their feeling of fear and reserve.

⁵²Personal interview with a pastoral women named Mama Sabida, held in Gwandi village on 18th February 2011.

The women's socialization was also imbedded in the informal education which the majority of pastoral women went through during the traditional initiation period. During that period girls remained secluded in a house; without seeing a man, including her father and were taught manners that insisted on her being polite to her elders as well as obedient to her husband. This corresponds to the observations of Kipuri and Ridgewell (2008) who noted that a girl in pastoral society was socialized to have two voices, one for normal conversation and another which was a lower voice, was for talking to men or to the general public. Likewise, shyness towards men and the general public were inculcated in the girl, which served to reduce her level of confidence. These qualities were demanded for a woman to get married and so were very important to a pastoral woman. During fieldwork, I managed to observe one pastoral girl who was undergoing the traditional initiation but was looking shy with her eyes closed (Figure 9). When I tried to talk to her, she could not reply, the mother responded instead. According to the mother, the girl had to stay inside the house most of the time and not interact with men.

She has to stay inside for a month so that she undergoes informal education about becoming a true woman and a mother and how to care for a man and her children. By the time she comes out of house she will look brown as most of brown girls in pastoral societies attract high bride price⁵³.



Figure 9: Standing on the right, is a pastoral girl full of shyness with her eyes closed. The girl is undergoing tradition initiation socialization. On the left is her stepmother, holding two kids ©H.Misafi.

⁵³Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Bahati, held in Gwandi village on 27th February 2011.

The feeling of fear and shyness before men affected them when expressing themselves to the extent that some women did not feel free to be interviewed in the presence of their spouses or men. I observed that after a question had been asked to a woman, the woman had to ask permission from the husband on whether or not to reply and how to reply. Some men were very keen in following up their wives' interviews and sometimes the husbands could intervene in the interviews by ordering their wives to give particular answers (Figure 10). This situation explains the considerable influence that men can exert over women's participation in decision-making. This challenges Mansbridge's idea that descriptive representation by gender improves substantive outcomes for women in every policy for which women have a measure (Mansbridge, 2005).



Figure 10. A pastoral woman being interviewed while her husband closely following up the interviews
©H.Misafi.

During interviews one of the interviewees revealed that:

How can I stand/ask questions in public? I am always full of shyness to ask a question or contribute in meetings. Each time when I stand up in public I feel like falling down'⁵⁴.

During key informant interviews with the village Chairman of Magasa village I confirmed that women's feelings of fear was intensified by men's brutality to women. Pastoral men were often brutal to the extent that women were in a constant state of fear which affected their ability to decide whether or not to participate in governance activities. Similarly, in one interview, a pastoral woman in Magasa village, had this to say:

⁵⁴Ibid.

*Our men are very brutal, if they find their wives talking in meetings or going to the government office without their permission they will severely beat them when they come back home*⁵⁵.

Men's brutality created a state of fear making the women feel completely inferior and incapable of making decisions. This is in line with Eneyew and Mangistu (2013) who assert that gendered norms influence pastoral women to have less decision-making powers at home and be treated as incapable of participating in decision-making. Eveyew and Mangistu continue to assert that the norms are so powerful that they often make pastoral women feel reluctant to report these anomalies including men's brutality because by so doing they would be traditionally considered incapable of being true and strong pastoralist women. Therefore this rejects the women in development approach that focuses on women in isolation and overlooks the role of men in dealing with women's concerns (Moser, 1993; Jahan, 1995; Fopahunda, 2012). All the same, from the results it appears that participation is limited to individual's presence and therefore dynamics of women's participation are viewed from women's present or not being present for an activity.

4.2.2.2 Power relations

Power relations in this study refer to day to day relation between a man and woman in terms of decision-making at both household and community level. My interest is to understand the general decision-making power relationship between a man and a woman by looking at who makes decisions within a household as well as a community? What kind of decisions is made by women and men? How the decisions made might affect women's participation? Equally important, we are interested in knowing who participates, who profits, who loses and who expresses himself/herself in the power relations. The assumption is that these relations determine the women's participation by providing orders to women or restricting them to participate in one activity and not another especially when men are dominant in decision-making at both levels, at family and community level. Since a family is a basic unit of socialization, it is assumed that women from those families which decisions can be made freely are expected to participate in decision-making at community level as well. Likewise,

⁵⁵Personal interview with a pastoral woman held in Magasa village on 22nd March 2011.

those women who are not free to make decisions at the family level are expected not to participate in decision-making at community level.

My results indicated that men dominated decision-making powers at both household and community level, which helped explain why pastoral women participated in governance activities in the way that they did. The women were regarded by men at both household and community level as men's property hence with no freedom to make decisions unless with permission from men. For instance, all decisions that allowed a woman to have contact with the general public had to be made by men. Such decisions included a decision to go out of a household and attend a public meeting, vote or become involved in public activities were decided by a man. In the extreme situation some men sometimes went to the extent of telling their wives who she should vote for. Widows had to seek permission from their oldest son or elderly man who would decide whether or not they could leave the household to attend a public meeting or involve themselves in voting activities.

That notwithstanding, a woman was denied the right to make personal decisions such as choice of a husband as it was the father who would arrange who his daughter would marry. The daughter was informed sometimes on the wedding day, about the man she was going to marry. Even worse, it was reported that, in cases of illness, a woman often had no say on whether or not she could go to hospital, unless permitted by her spouse. This sometimes resulted in some women dying at home without reaching a hospital.

The same applied when making decisions to sell property in a household. A man would sell livestock or crops and spend the money obtained without informing his wife. Women were however, reported to make decisions on selling chickens and milk as chicken was not considered as property in pastoral society and milk was traditionally known to be a women's property. However, it was reported in the same interviews that some men exerted control over the money which their wives obtained from the sale of milk which implied that women had no power to make decisions even on those items which were primarily meant for them. These results were similar to those of Schanke and Lange (2008) who found that women were not allowed to sell even chicken. Similarly, Mc Peak and Doss (2006) revealed that some pastoral men discouraged the sale of milk and preferred it to be kept for the herd and ensured that women's access to milk was limited. However, Flintan (2008) pointed out that at least the overall decision-making about milk remains the domain of women. It was a woman who

decided, without getting consent from her husband, the amount of milk to be sold and what quantity would be retained at home.

That notwithstanding, it was reported during interviews that it was strictly prohibited for women to make or contribute to public decision-making for whatever reason without getting permission from their husband because by so doing it would bring shame on her husband and her family as whole. The restriction about women's involvement in decision-making was due to the fact that traditionally men regarded women as the inferior sex with their roles limited to the kitchen. However, during focus group discussions, it was revealed that men thought that if the women were allowed to participate in governance, they would overthrow traditional pattern of male leadership. This kind of taboo contradicts a decentralized local governance idea that emphasizes equality between men and women. The power relations in pastoral settings were unequal, indicating that the men were given more powers to make decisions than women.

For instance, it was revealed during interviews that, traditionally, elderly men were the only group of people responsible for making decisions in a pastoral community including decisions to resolve household conflicts. These leaders were very powerful decision-makers as the society regarded them as the wisest people who would therefore make rational decisions. I also observed that government leaders recognized pastoralist community leaders especially when they wanted to conveniently mobilize pastoralists to participate in public matters such as voting, sometimes attending meetings. It was easy and convenient to convince pastoralists, including the women, to participate in different governance activities through their traditional leaders or through men than talking directly to the women themselves. The underlying explanation regarding power relations in pastoral society was mainly culturally governed as pastoralist culture identified pastoral woman within pastoral men. Despite the existence for more than ten years of decentralized local governance in Tanzania, power relations in pastoral societies still undermines women and provides more powers to men. This is driven by the fallacy that there is nothing good or of a substance in terms of decisions that would come from a pastoral woman unless through a pastoral man. The fallacy validates Beal (2005) and Francis's (2007) skepticism that decentralization hardly benefits women. Also the existing power relations between men and women confirm that women's substantive participation cannot be attained without men's involvement. This confirms the gender and development approach that gender relations are often reinforced by male power (Razavi and Miller, 1995).

4.2.2.3 Gender stereotype

Gender stereotyping is a belief that men are stronger than women and that only men can handle masculine issues. Skelly and Johnson (2011) consider gender stereotyping as a real phenomenon involving an individual's cognitive thought based on personal views, expectations or norms of a particular society. These thoughts often consider that men and women have different strengths in taking part in certain activities. Through gender stereotypes some political activities are believed to be masculine and therefore regarded as exclusively within the domain of men while others can be handled even by women. Coleman (2003) asserts that women's under-representation in decision-making positions is due to inherent male orthodoxy of leadership which perpetuates a masculine vision of leadership styles that rest on the belief that men are natural leaders. Similarly, societies perceive that women do not naturally possess leadership qualities and characteristics and therefore are incapable of becoming leaders (Diekmann and Goodfriend, 2006; Eagly and Karau, 2002). In view of the above, I was interested to know how men and women view themselves in relation to participation in decision-making. How do men and women view participation in politics? Is it a masculine or feminine activity or gender neutral? Is gender a criterion for decision-making such as choosing or rejecting a candidate, attending or not participation in campaign, general meetings or public debates?

Results show that gender stereotyping was another contributing factor for determining pastoral women's participation in decision-making in two main ways. First, men regarded women as the weaker sex who could not perform duties which men could perform such as becoming leaders, involving themselves in a war and riding cattle. Men believed that women's main tasks should be confined to performing domestic activities. Some men were reluctant to have their wives interviewed believing that their wives had no additional ideas to offer beyond those put forward by themselves. Others argued that it was impossible for women to have different ideas other than what her husband had because whatever the women said came from her spouse.

Second, women themselves accepted the belief that men were stronger than women and that participation in certain activities such as leadership were exclusively a man's duty and women were not able to perform such activities. This was shown during focus group discussions when women confirmed that they could not stand and be selected as leaders. This implies that

pastoral women lived up to the expectation of the pastoral society as “pastoralists women”. In this regard, standing for election would be seen as going against society’s expectations.

Such belief is deeply rooted in pastoral societies and greatly contributes to limiting women’s participation in governance beyond numbers. Men strongly believe that pastoral women cannot become leaders like men. This line of thinking manifested itself in Rofati village when a conflict occurred between the Village Executive Officer for Rofati village who happened to be a lady and villagers who were mostly pastoralists. The source of conflict is related to gender stereotyping as reported in a key informant interview with the Village Executive Officer. In this interview the officer complained that the villagers, particularly men disliked her simply because she was a woman.

They call me ‘indito’⁵⁶” and according to them ‘indito’ cannot rule men. Therefore they always harass me and mock me whenever I want to deliver information to them. They once locked me out of my house. I am not interested in staying and working in this village any more.⁵⁷

During my frequent visits to Rofati village I noted that the Village Executive Officer lived an uncomfortable life at her working station to the extent that she had to shift her residence to a nearby village (Gwandi village) for security reasons. During interviews with pastoral men, they denied claims by the Village Executive Officer that the conflict was due to gender. However, analysis showed that pastoralist men were not comfortable being led by a woman. By implication, the gender stereotype that leadership in pastoral society was exclusively men’s activity which women cannot perform clearly was in evidence. This confirms the women in development approach which insists that unless the problem of stereotyping of women is solved, discrimination against women will persist (Moser, 1993). Nevertheless, the women in development approach is challenged by advocating increasing the number of women in decision-making positions as a solution to the problem of women’s discrimination (Razavi and Miller, 1995). I concur with the suggestion by Kingsbury et al. (2008) that the main step towards promoting gender equality is to shift attention from women themselves to the relations between men and women and in particular to analyse the unequal relationship between them.

⁵⁶In Maasai tribe refers “little woman”.

⁵⁷Personal interview with the Rofati Village Executive Officer, held in Rofati village on 7th January 2011.

4.2.2.4 Access to information

Access to information is an equally important aspect of enhancing or limiting participation. Scaff (1975) clearly states that any kind of participation requires information as information is a source of power and without it an individual can hardly participate in any kind of project or activity. My assumption in this study was that pastoral women's participation was determined by access to information. The information referred to in this study was the one that could help women plan their activities and set times to participate in any public activity. Therefore, I was interested to find out how access to information determines women's participation.

On the one hand, results show that pastoral women had access to information which enhanced their participation in decision-making. For instance, during Focus Group Discussion, participants revealed that the spread of information by government leaders about voters' registration and voting exercise enabled them to participate in the exercise. Likewise, few women interviewed revealed that they were sensitized by the national radio broadcasting station to participate in voters' registration and voting. Although the women showed that access to information enabled them to participate in governance, analysis indicates that women's participation was confined to a nominal level as they had no options regarding participation or non-participation as men were the determining factor for the women's decisions. Therefore, there was underlying meaning behind women's participation other than access to information that rejects the civic voluntarism approach which emphasizes that access to information was enough to make an individual participate.

On the other hand however, results show that in access to information was a stumbling block for the women's participation in many public activities. Observation showed that unlike non pastoralist residents, most of the pastoralist residents were scattered and poorly accessible, mainly by foot, bike and motor bike. The telephone network was often not available to such residents and there was only limited availability of radio frequencies. Similarly, footpaths and roads to pastoralist residents were full of thorns and bushes and there were risks from the wildlife. These aspects indicate poor infrastructure and communication facilities for pastoralist residences. The poor accessibility made it difficult for activists/leaders to access rural and remote areas, where the majority of pastoralists live, and disseminate information on what is going on in the village, ward, district and the nation at large. These results were similar to those of Pavanello (2009) who confirmed that pastoralists' groups live far away

from national capitals where economic activities are concentrated and usually pastoralist groups usually live in isolation and dispersal communities across vast areas of a country in the Hon, with poor infrastructure in their areas. As a result it was difficult for them to take collective action; organizing themselves becomes problematic. This significantly hampers the ability of pastoralists' communities to formulate a coherent and collective demand and to transmit their requests and preferences in a convincing manner to policy-makers. This ultimately, results in a situation in which pastoral communities lack a means to hold authorities to account, and too often their rights are not addressed relative to the rest of the population. Pastoralist women were the most hard hit as traditionally were confined to home and performing domestic activities in contrast to pastoral men who were free to often move away from home and access information easily by having contacts with government leaders who were most of the time sources of information. These results confirm Verbal et al.'s (1995) idea that individuals do not participate in public activities due to a lack of information. Decentralized governance was theoretically thought to solve a problem of access to information to pastoral women as through it information would be easily accessible as governance was brought closer to them. However, as shown in the study women continued to experience difficulties accessing information within decentralized local governance as people's physical movement which was most liable means of disseminating and accessing information was very often a challenge facing most of the rural parts in Tanzania. Consequently, it affected both women, who were most of the time bound to stay at home, and move out when necessary, and public officials who were supposed to deliver information who very often became discouraged as indicated in the following quotation:

*I only go to the village to attend clinic for my child and occasionally when I want to get basic needs like salt for my family. When I am in the village then I hear that there was a meeting last week and sometimes I find a meeting going on*⁵⁸.

This implied that, in addition to the women having limited access to information, they did not receive information in time. During interviews it was confirmed that for the past five years, residents in Munigamba had never been visited by a public leader nor an activist which suggested that residents of Munigamba had limited access to information. This can be verified in the following quote:

⁵⁸Ibid.

How did you manage to reach up this end? This is very far from the village, most of practitioners do not manage to reach here, they frequently end up reaching at Rofati⁵⁹.

From the pastoral woman's remark, it appears that it was difficult to access pastoralist residences as accessibility was mostly by physical means. Therefore, considering the location and distance to the residences it became a challenge for most people who disseminate information. As a result, the women remained ill-informed and unable to question or demand clarification on public activities that had been taking place in their localities. I also observed that some pastoralist residences were situated in the bush and there were no established roads to the houses, most of which were made of thatch and surrounded by thorns (Figures 11 and 12). In an interview discussion with the Rofati Village Chairman, it was revealed that staying in a remote environment was vital for pastoralists to access enough pasture and ensure crop cultivation.



Figure 11. One of the pastoralist residential areas in Ugogoni, Gwandi village in Kondoa District
©H.Misafi

I also observed that official documents and circulars were posted at ward headquarters and a few on village headquarters noticeboards. Among the information posted was the procedure for sending complaints to leaders in the district. When I cross-checked with pastoral women on the information posted at the village headquarters, the majority interviewed said that they were not aware of the information which was three months old. However, pastoral women

⁵⁹Personal interview with a pastoral woman held in Munigamba, Rofati village on 20 January 2011. Rofati is the headquarter for Rofati village, situated by the road side connecting to two main roads, one going to Kondoa District headquarter and the other one joining the main road to Singida region.

pinpointed out that they did not bother reading the information posted on the villages' noticeboards because the information was written in Kiswahili, a language which majority of pastoral women did not know. These results were similar to Fjeldstad et al. (2010) who noted that very often information posted on noticeboards was presented in a relatively complicated and technical way which is difficult for ordinary citizens to understand. This implied the length of time which pastoral women took to access the information was due to a language barrier they experienced.



Figure 12: A road to Majengo hamlet, in Rofati Village©H.Misafi

A general observation is that pastoral women had very little or no access to information regarding what the government was doing. They saw the government as responsible for the women's lack of access to information. During focus group discussions, pastoral women bitterly complained of the lack of information citing the government as the main source of the problem.

The government is ignoring us. We are always abandoned by the government with no information and we don't know why? Maybe it is because we live in bushes which make the government consider us as dirty, useless and non-Tanzanians⁶⁰.

Another pastoral woman also complained as follows:

⁶⁰Focus Group Discussion with pastoral women in Olboloti village, held on 22nd May 2011.

*It is the government's duty to disseminate information to us and not us seeking for information. To the contrary you will rarely find government people coming to inform us on what is going in the government. They only come to our places when they need contribution from us*⁶¹.

However, during interviews with the village Chairman for Olboloti village, it was reported that the government had been regularly sending information to pastoral groups in the village through their traditional leaders.

*We give information to their leaders and assume that everybody gets the information*⁶².

Results indicate that as all pastoralist leaders are men and the patriarchal system is dominant in pastoral societies the dissemination of information also depends on men's willingness to spread information. Ridgewell et al.(2007) observed that the women depended on men for information as men frequently spent time away from home during which they usually had access to information. Powley (2008) observed in Rwanda that it was very hard for women to be involved in politics, since most of them did not have access to information. It was very rare in Rwanda to see a woman walking in the street listening to news as men did.

This supports the literature that advocates the need to consider institutions in dealing with the problem of women's participation in governance (Branisa et al., 2013). The literature also suggests that, unless institutions governing gender relations are dealt with, there will be an increase in the number of women participating in governance but little increase in women's substantive participation (Ostergaard, 1992; Rathgeber, 1989).

4.2.2.5 Interest

As with access to information, I also assumed that pastoral women's interest in taking part in local governance was also a determining factor for their participation. Interest in this study is conceptualized as the individual's feeling of wanting to, having a concern about, or curiosity

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Personal interview with the Olboloti Village Chairman, held in Olboloti village on 7th May 2011.

to participate in governance. In this case, I was interested to know whether these women wanted to or had a concern about or were curious to participate in local governance? In what governance matters are the women interested in and why? Which matters are the women less interested in and why?

Results show that interest was a driving force behind pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance. They indicated that they did not want to take part in public activities such as protests, debates and vying for leadership positions. In interviews asking why the women lack interest in these activities received the response that the activities involved too much talking as opposed to other activities such as voting.

The nature of women's socialization in being reserved and less argumentative in public, explains their lack of interest in participating in such activities. Similarly in cultural terms, the women were not allowed to get involved in arguments with men or the public. This restriction contributed to their low level of interest in participation in debates or public protests. During focus group discussions, participants indicated that they were not concerned with being involved in general politics because they saw no value in it. The women were very anxious about the idea of participation in politics as there would be much more speaking involved. This decreased their interest in public affairs. For example, the women in Magasa and Rofati villages cited that they were facing a serious problem of water shortage but nothing was done by the leaders to solve the problem as attested by a woman in Magasa village that:

During dry season we get water from Mwailanji, 6 km from Magasa or sometimes we have to go to Songolo, 10 kms from Magasa to get water for ourselves and the cattle. As you can see our dispensary is not complete and we use the village office as an alternative. Go and tell them that we want medicine and water; we are not interested in politics at all⁶³.

From the quotation above, it was evident that the women's lack of interest in politics was attributed to the government's failure to meet their expectations. Nonetheless, during interviews the women exhibited a willingness to participate in electoral process such as voters' registration, voting and campaign meetings because of their interest in such matters. These results were similar to Kipuri and Rigewell (2008) who confirmed that pastoral women

⁶³Personal interview with pastoral woman named Mama Ali, held in in Magasa village on 17th March 2011.

turn up in large numbers for voting. However, Hodgson (2000) pointed out that the political system in pastoral societies was highly patriarchal and controlled by men who were socially able to shape women's feelings in terms of participation. This suggests that men's interests often influenced the women's expressed interest. In a real sense, what the women called "interest", was not their own interest but rather an expression of men's interest which the women were fulfilling as captured in the following quotation:

In pastoral society a man is everything. He is the one who decides what a woman should do or not do? If he tells you don't go to the meeting for instance, how can you go? It is impossible⁶⁴.

This challenges the understanding of participation as a means that leads to getting new ideas and creating innovation (Rowe and Frewer, 2004).

4.2.2.6 Incentives

Incentives is conceptualized in this study as anything that an individual receives or is promised in exchange for his or her participation in decision-making. Incentives can be financial or non-financial, depending on the incentive provider. Financial incentives are conceptualized as money or any material things which have a monetary value which an individual woman receives or anticipates receiving. While non-financial incentives in this study refer to promises given by candidates, political parties or the government to individual citizens or groups in the exchange of the citizen's decisions they make or anticipated to make.

These promises can be made to affect women as a group or as part of a whole community of men and women. From women's point of view, the study assumes that promises intended to improve social service delivery are likely to influence women's participation behaviour in decision-making. Likewise, financial incentives are also assumed to influence women's participation in decision-making. All these incentives (financial and non-financial) are conceptualized to determine women's participation in decision-making. Therefore, this study sought to explore whether there are any incentives that the women get in exchange for their participation. What kind of incentives do the women receive as a motivating or discouraging

⁶⁴Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Agata, held in Rofati village on 23rd July 2012.

factor to their participation in decision-making? Does women's participation in decision-making have any relationship with the kind of incentives they get? What kind of incentives attracted women's participation?

Results indicate that although pastoral women explicitly denied having received any kind of incentives from either a political party or an individual candidate as a motivation for their participation or non-participation, when asked why they participated in voting, women revealed:

Respondent 1:

I voted because we were promised by CCM that once it would be elected in power it would bring better life and free livestock medicine⁶⁵.

Respondent 2:

The government promised that it would complete our dispensary⁶⁶.

Respondent 3:

I voted because we wanted water for ourselves and our livestock⁶⁷.

The promise of the provision of water acted as an incentive for women's participation in voting as the women experienced problems of accessing water during dry season.

Moreover, some women revealed during interviews that they registered to vote in anticipation of getting voters' registration cards which could be used as travel passes, as one interviewee said.

We were told by people that voters' registration cards would be used as travelers' pass and that we will not be allowed to travel without the cards. Therefore, I went to register in order to get the card⁶⁸.

⁶⁵Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Juma, held in Olboloti village on 10th May 2011.

⁶⁶Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Ndit, held in Magasa village on 20th November 2010.

⁶⁷Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Agata, held in Rofati village on 23rd July 2012.

⁶⁸Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Gidawaleta, held in Gwandi Village 15th February 2011.

It should be noted that Tanzanian nationals had no national identity cards and for the first time in the history of the country, voters' registration cards were being issued. Therefore the women's assumption coupled with a lack of knowledge motivated the women to participate in voters' registration exercise. As a matter of fact, the card was not meant for use as a travel pass, however, very often some pastoral women were observed using voters' registration cards as personal identity cards whenever they were required to produce an identity card.

The women also revealed that they participated in Village Assembly meetings in anticipation of hearing how the government was going to solve their social problems. On the one hand these results, qualify Olson's idea that individuals have a tendency to measure tangible benefits they anticipate to get before they participate in any activities (Olson, 1977).

However, on the other hand the results depict women's participation in the Village Assembly as limited to a nominal level. This entails that even if women are given incentives to participate they ultimately participate as members of a group without having a voice to influence decisions. This contradicts Chowdhury's idea that women in governance increase democracy and gender equality (Chowdhury, 1994).

4.2.2.7 Influence of the Kiswahili language in pastoral women's participation

During my fieldwork, the Kiswahili language emerged as a determining factor of pastoral women's participation within decentralized local governance. Nevertheless, this aspect was not part of my initial conceptualized variables in this study-results of my exploration indicated that pastoral women had limited knowledge in understanding and speaking the Kiswahili language. This was first revealed during interviews whereby most respondents did not understand questions posed to them in Kiswahili and simply ended up replying on vernacular "*mayolo*"⁶⁹ which meant in Maasai tribe, "*I don't know*" implying that they did not know Kiswahili. The limited knowledge of Kiswahili made it difficult for them to read and follow voting procedures and understand procedures for general elections which were all written in Kiswahili. This suggests that the women's participation in electoral process was mainly numerical given the serious problem concerning pastoral women's understanding the Kiswahili language.

Secondly, most of them frequently demanded the translation of public documents including voters' registration documents, ballot papers as well as various government circulars because

⁶⁹Is the Maasai word meaning 'don't know'.

they were all written in the Kiswahili language. This suggests that much as the women wanted to participate in governance, they experienced limitations in participation due to their lack of knowledge of Kiswahili. Consequently, pastoral women's participation beyond numbers became limited.

Thirdly, the women also encountered communication problems when trying to use public services such as milling machines or fetching water from public pumps which all required the ability to speak Kiswahili. Moreover, observations showed that in local meetings where one ethnic group was dominant, a code mixing (vernacular and Kiswahili), was used during the meeting at least to make every participant understand what was being discussed. Nonetheless, all village, ward and district level meetings were conducted in Kiswahili, because of the heterogeneous composition of the population in the villages. This meant that the women had difficulty understanding various motions discussed in the meetings and thus were limited in terms of their participation.

Fourthly, it was revealed during interviews that some women were discouraged from attending public meetings because of their inability to speak and understand the Kiswahili language. This fact was confirmed during focus group discussions when one participant lamented that:

How can I participate in government activities? They usually come, speak their Kiswahili and go, leaving us without understanding what brought them here⁷⁰.

The women's language problem also meant that they were less interactive and experienced difficulties in reading government information/communication thus making them become ineffective participants in public activities.

Nevertheless, while pastoral women were observed experiencing difficulties in Kiswahili, pastoral men were more fluent in Kiswahili. When I asked why men were more fluent than women, it was revealed that unlike pastoral women, pastoral men were more interactive and travelled extensively within Tanzania and abroad up to Kenya.

⁷⁰Personal interview with a pastoral woman (Salda) during Focus Group Discussions in Gwandi village on 15th February 2011.

I also observed that some pastoral women in Olboloti village were speaking Kiswahili when doing business (selling beads and milk) with non-pastoralists. However, another observation I made in the same village indicated that those women who were able to speak Kiswahili while doing business, were unable to speak it during meetings on the ground that they had language problems. This suggests that although Kiswahili was mentioned as a constraining factor to women's participation, it was not the only factor. There were other forces such as pastoral men's influence which contribute to explaining the women's participation in governance apart from the Kiswahili language.

Nonetheless, a comparative analysis of results for the dynamics of pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance shows that social norms have a higher influence on determining pastoral women's participation in governance than interests, gender stereotypes, access to information, incentives, power relations and the Kiswahili language. This is because unlike the other factors such as the Kiswahili language, incentives and social norms have frequently been mentioned by most of the women interviewed as the main determining factors for women's participation in governance. Equally, social norms are linked to all the other factors. For instance, from the results it is shown that there is a link between social norms and women's access to information, interests, gender stereotypes, power relations as well the women's ability to speak the Kiswahili language. In this regard, social norms constitute the main determining factor for women's participation in pastoralists societies.

Section 4.2.3 Effects of pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

In sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 I presented information about how and why women participate in decentralized local governance. In this section 4.2.3 I present the effects of pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance. This will provide answers to the third research question: what are the effects of pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance? Effects on women's participation in decision-making may be many, however, for the purpose of this study the focus will be on setting of the agenda, change in priorities, decisions on different domains as well as different outcomes to service delivery.

4.2.3.1 Setting of agenda

Setting of agenda is a primary and fundamental stage in the decision-making process for it sets the framework of what is to be discussed which eventually determines resolutions to be

reached. In this study I assumed that pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance would have an effect on the setting of the agenda because of the women's unique environment and cultural life experience relative to other women (non-pastoralists). Such unique experiences include a strong patriarchal system which provides more male dominance in decision-making and very remote areas with no or limited social services (Flintan, 2008). Based on the above, I anticipated that the women's participation in governance would affect the setting of the agenda in local governance when taking on board pastoral women's interest. Thus, to guide my exploration, I used the following sub questions. How is agenda setting done? Who sets the agenda? Whose interests did the agenda serve?

Observational findings in village meetings show that there are two ways in which agenda settings are carried out. One way was through the Village Council meetings which prepared an agenda to be approved by the Village Assembly, the highest decision-making organ in the village. Under this method of setting the agenda, villagers approach the Village Council members and give their suggestion to the members for presentation in the Village Council.

Another way of setting the agenda was that some agenda items would be set during the meeting. This was the most common mode of setting the agenda used in most meetings in the villages studied.

In both ways of setting the agenda, pastoral women's participation was limited. For various reasons including an inferiority complex the women seldom approached the Village Council as noted by one respondent who said:

Men consider us as fools to propose anything that can have a valuable contribution to the society. They say that you are just a woman⁷¹.

Moreover, and as noted earlier, men dominated decision-making in the Village Councils therefore women's influence was limited which affected the agenda setting for the Village Assembly meeting. Likewise the women did not propose an agenda during the meeting for fear that if they speak out in public they will not become "real pastoral women", the one who sits and listens to instruction from her spouses. This denotes that pastoral women's concerns were not taken account of in the Assembly meeting despite women's presence in the meeting. If the women's concerns were not part of the agenda, it brings into question the validity of women's descriptive representation approach.

⁷¹Personal interview with a woman who did not want to disclose her name held in Olboloti village on 20th May 2011.

During interviews with pastoral women, I recorded the following responses from different respondents. The first respondent said that:

*I was told by my husband to attend the meeting, it's him who knew the agenda*⁷².

A second respondent stated that:

*The setting of the agenda was a duty of organizers of the meeting*⁷³.

Similarly, another respondent had this to say:

*I don't know Kiswahili and I cannot speak it. How can I speak while I don't know Kiswahili? Perhaps those who are fluent in Kiswahili can speak up*⁷⁴.

Interestingly, one respondent revealed that she did not know the meaning of the term 'agenda' for a meeting. The above responses provided a clear indication that women's involvement and influence in setting of the agenda in a pastoral setting is limited. Similarly, as noted from the first and second respondents that men and organizers were the ones who knew the agenda, there is the implication that men's interests were foremost and at the same time women's interests were not fully represented. This was confirmed during interviews as follows:

*You may wish to raise your hand and contribute something to a meeting but nobody will look at you and appoint you to say something. It is always them who say in meetings and inform us what they have agreed. Usually, it is my husband who knows about politics*⁷⁵.

These results are in line with Hodgson's observations that pastoral men have a tendency to dominate women in decision-making (Hodgson, 2000). Since men dominated the agenda setting, it implies that, pastoral women's special and strategic interests are not fully considered in decision-making. This was confirmed during focus group discussions. Despite pastoral women having critical problems in understanding the Kiswahili language, this issue was not taken up seriously by decision makers as a problem to be solved. The women explained the need of knowledge of the language in order to easily access information from the public as well as general communications, and without which they could have no role in setting the agenda for the village or ward meetings.

⁷²Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Agata, held in Rofati village on 23rd July 2012.

⁷³Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Neema, held in Rofati village on 23rd July 2012.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Personal interview with pastoral woman named Mama Kilo, Held in Rofati village on 22nd July 2012.

Likewise, women's lack of involvement in setting the agenda was also observed even in those meetings where agenda setting was done during the meetings. Despite the women's participation in such meetings and their having the opportunity to propose agenda points for the meeting, observation showed that very few in fact did this. Most of the time women were observers of what was taking place during meetings at the same time leaving men to propose the agenda. This was confirmed by the women that their participation in meetings was limited to attendance as indicated in the following quotations:

I go to listen to what they tell us. We are not allowed to speak, it is our tradition. Usually, men do not allow a woman to speak in a meeting. Men say that we don't know and that women can also say something in the meeting. I can speak when I am with my husband but not in the meeting. Personally, I would propose an agenda in a meeting. However, in this society men and women do not believe in women because of the feeling that women are too weak to contribute in meetings. Therefore, I always prefer keeping quiet⁷⁶.

Another one had this to say:

It is my first time I hear about getting involved in setting the agenda. I did not think about it. I think the day I make a contribution everyone in the village will laugh at me⁷⁷.

Joekes and Pointing (1991) and later on Ngoitiko (2008) explain this situation as linked to the pastoralist cultural setting that requires socialized women to remain behind men and have and make little or no contribution to meetings, unless permitted by men. This entails that, irrespective of the opportunity women have to propose agenda points, they cannot use the opportunity as they are constrained by strict cultural traditions. This confirms the gender and development approach that insists that the relation between men and women is a main source of women's subordination (Razavi and Miller, 1995).

This has a significant effect on women's influence in the setting of the agenda resulting in the women's failure to translate their ideas into agenda points for discussion as depicted in the following interviews:

I wanted to say that the government has been over emphasizing about pastoralist reducing number of livestock because they damage environment and we were promised by the government that we will be supplied with a type of cows that produce more milk than what we

⁷⁶Personal interview with Pastoral woman named Mama Bunge, held in Gwandi village on 23rd July 2012.

⁷⁷Personal interview with pastoral woman named Mama Sabida, held in Gwandi village on 23rd July 2012.

*have now. However, the problem is that traditionally we are not supposed to comment or suggest something before men*⁷⁸.

During focus group discussions in Rofati and Magasa villages, the women indicated that their main concerns were to access or obtain a deep tank, water and medicine for their livestock, and mother and child health care services. During the village meeting in Magasa, I observed that one pastoral woman raised her concern about mother and child health care service in the village. Surprisingly, little attention was paid to the woman's concern and the meeting was closed immediately as it was coming to an end. This suggests that women's interest were not taken onboard in the setting of the agenda, consequently the agenda setting becomes a male function and male biased. These results reject the theoretical assumption that there is a direct connection between women's descriptive participation and policy outcomes concerning women (Childs and Krook, 2006a; Childs and Krook, 2009; Agarwal, 2010).

4.2.3.2 Change in priorities

In this study I assumed that pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance would bring about a change in priorities. The basis for my assumption was that pastoral women have priorities that are different from those of pastoral men and non-pastoral women. Women's participated would therefore be reflected in priorities set when decisions are made. Based on the above, the study was examined the following: Who sets priorities in a village? What are pastoral women's priorities in governance? Were these priorities upheld or changed as the effects of women's participation?

My assumption was not supported by the results. Pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance has no effect in the change of priorities. As with the case in the setting of the agenda, I observed that priorities in the village were set by the Village Council and then sent to the Village Assembly for approval. In this case, individual citizens' priorities were determined through Village Councils which prepared priorities for the village before being approved in the Village Assembly meeting. As noted in the previous section pastoral women's participation in setting of the agenda was limited, and this also affected their priorities. The absence of women's priorities in the village and Village Assembly denotes an absence of priorities in the priorities areas in the District Council because, procedurally village priorities are those which constitute district priorities.

⁷⁸Ibid.

That notwithstanding, during interviews, pastoral women indicated their priorities and complaints but could not voice them to relevant authorities.

We need water for ourselves our children as well as livestock, however, there is limited supply of it and it becomes problematic issue to draw water and feed our large flocks of animals⁷⁹.

Another respondent had this to say:

Personally, I wanted to be educated but I did not have a chance because my parents insisted that I have to undertake herding activities and get married. I want all my children to go to school so that they can be able to read and interpret for me various issues in Kiswahili. However, schools are located far from here as well as they are full of contributions, therefore it becomes challenging for our children to go to school⁸⁰.

This is however, different from the findings of Genda and Kirway (2009) who found that parents in pastoral societies do not value education for girls since it is considered a waste of time which may lead to delay in getting bride price (cattle).

In a focus group discussion held in Magasa Village, the women agreed that water was a priority as there were serious shortages especially during the dry season (July and November). Similarly, during the same discussion, the women indicated that they experienced serious problems getting medicine for their livestock. Therefore, the women indicated that they wanted the government to provide livestock medicine for free and via sale. Similarly, in a focus group discussion held in Rofati village the women agreed that they wanted water because the available water pump in the village was inadequate causing overcrowding at the pump during dry seasons. During the same focus group discussion one participant had a priority slightly different from the rest of women as pointed out in the following quotation:

If I am given a chance to tell the government, I will tell them only one thing that we want a deep tank because we only have one in the village and the government is charging us for the service⁸¹.

When I probed for elaboration on why she was not given a chance by the government, the following was revealed.

The government does not think about us nor does it consider our needs⁸².

⁷⁹Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Ndit, held in Magasa village on 20th November 2010.

⁸⁰Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Salma, held in Gwandi village on 16th July 2010.

⁸¹Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Kilo, held in Rofati village on 15th December 2010.

⁸²Ibid.

Marien et al. (2010) assert that poorly educated groups among the population often feel excluded, as they feel that the political elite are not attentive to their demands. A critical observation validated that most pastoral women were illiterate which contributed to their feeling that they were neglected by the government. This affected the women's articulation of their demands to the government at the same time waiting for the government to ask the women about what they wanted from the government. In a key informant interview with the District Executive Officer, the following was revealed:

The government treats all citizens equally and it is not the aim of the government to discriminate any citizen. Pastoral women because of their ignorance have a tendency of thinking that they are being marginalized and always wait for the government to bring changes for them. The aim of local government reform is to empower people so that they can unveil their problems and tell the government to implement; in that way changes in development may occur. The women have always a problem of thinking that the government would plan and decide for them. Now it is their turn to get involved in setting priorities and let us know them. I have been in this post for more than 5 years now, but I have never seen any woman from pastoralist societies coming to propose anything they want to be done by the government for them despite various initiatives by the government to empower them to get involved in decision-making⁸³.

These results strongly correspond to those of Mollel (2010) who found that development preferences identified in the village plans were not reflected in the council plans. This suggests that there was a mismatch between what people suggest and what was being implemented. As a result, government priorities dominated in local governance (Ndumbaro and Kweyamba, 2002). This is a flaw to advocates of participation as an end in itself, aiming at empowering people especially the marginalized poor including women to decide what they want within their localities (Potts et al., 2003). Similar findings were also observed by Ngoitiko (2008) and Ridgewell et al. (2007) who saw that pastoral women could not have priorities other than those of their male counterparts because of fear among the women. In this case then, it suggests that no demand of pastoral women has been realized as the women's priorities were not included as part of the decision made at the same time men were critical actors in priority setting. The council chairman was also interviewed, and this is what he had to say:

⁸³Personal interview with the Kondoa District Executive Director held on 11th September 2010.

Council priorities are set by the council out of the priorities set or received from the villages and wards in the District. Villagers in their village councils and Village Assemblies set their priorities and send them to the ward council for endorsement before they are forwarded to the District Council for approval. However, individual citizens were also allowed to present their idea on the priorities they want to be considered by the council through their ward councilor⁸⁴.

That notwithstanding, a critical examination of the results showed that pastoral women had limited opportunities to participate in the village decision-making organs which were the main sources of the district council priorities. The limited participation of pastoral women's participation implied that there was little change in the priorities which the women could have in the council. Equally, the fear experienced by many women acts as a block on them presenting their priorities at either village level or district level. Consequently, no change in priorities was realized despite reflecting pastoral women's participation in governance. The fear was created by men most of whom were cruel to their spouses so as to ensure their dominance in decisions made thus affecting the general level of women's participation in decision-making, including priority setting at both household as well as community levels as attested by a pastoral woman in the following quote:

We fear gods, because if I go against what a man says, our gods will punish me. We believe that men have been empowered to guide and direct us women and it is them who even ask for birth (children) from god as well as rainfall. Usually, we are informed about what has been decided by the elders⁸⁵

Moreover, general analysis indicated that although pastoral women had their own priorities, they could not articulate or voice them out for public consideration. As a result, the women's priorities were not reflected in either district council plans nor in village council plans as women's priorities. Only education and health service were part of the Village and District Council priorities as general priorities and not pastoral women's priorities. The women revealed that their priorities have not always been considered in governance organs because the women believed that the government had negatively labeled pastoralists as a group that damages the environment through the large number of livestock it keeps. However, our analysis indicated that underlying reasons behind non reflection of the women's priorities in governance organs was that the women did not put forward their priorities to the relevant decision-making organs which meant there was no change in priorities despite their

⁸⁴Personal interview with the Kondoa District Council Chairman held on 20th July 2012.

⁸⁵Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Ndit, held on 20th November 2010.

participation. Flintan (2007) saw that women's fear to speak in public greatly undermined their freedom to participate in decision-making. Many challenges and burdens on pastoral women are invisible, go unnoticed and are likely to prevail from generation to generation. Consequently, only general priorities as set by the government and those supported by men are the ones that will prevail at the same time leaving the women to suffer a double bind, as pastoralists and as women in a strongly patriarchal system (Eneyew and Mangestu, 2013; Kipuri and Ridgewell, 2008). This implies that the idea of participation as a means to an end with the view of having different priorities based on diversity groups of people and gender does not obtain in Tanzania. The government will continue centralizing priorities as was the case in the 1972 when the country abolished the local government system and operated without it for ten years (Mmari, 2005; Per Tidemannd and Msami, 2010). This supports Childs and Krook's suggestion that the politics of participation processes should be considered when analyzing participation and gender. Politics has an impact on priority setting as it determines who sets the priorities (Childs and Krook, 2006a).

4.2.3.3 Decision on different domains

As with the cases of different agenda settings and changes in priorities, I assumed that pastoral women's participation within decentralized local governance would result in decisions on different domains. The rationale behind the assumption is that pastoral women have their own priorities or areas of preferences that are different from the rest of population. Therefore my interest in this study was to know which domains pastoral women were most interested in. Were these domains upheld in decision-making organs? Who upheld women's domains of interests? Were decisions gender sensitive?

The results indicated that pastoral women issues revolved around three main domains which required attention of a society; social, political and economic as summarized in the following quotation:

We are highly mistreated by men. Very often men beat us with no sound reason. Likewise, sometimes a man decides to sell a livestock or crops and retains all the money without informing me and if a woman wants to know about the money she is being beaten. A man dominates all decisions at home because men are powerful and have command over us we are reduced into a child, not only a child but a female child. Look at my ears, they are all torn because they were pulled off by my husband⁸⁶.

⁸⁶Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Bahati, held in Olboloti village on 27th July 2012.

Although the women complained about such problems in interviews, a critical examination showed that the women kept all these matters to themselves and did not present them in any public forum for public attention, a move that might result in a diversity of decision-making. Grey (2006) points out that pastoralist traditional sayings such as “women and donkeys never complain about burdens” instruct the women not to report the challenges they face. This implies that despite experiencing numerous problems while at the same time participating in various forums, their participation could not bring about changes in terms of decisions in different domains.

I also observed that all decision-making matters were handled informally at household or pastoral community levels by elders who are all men. This suggests that no decisions are made other than those supported by men. I also observed that men seemed to support matters that include upholding traditional values most of which suppress women and advantage men. For instance, it was revealed that it was strictly forbidden for a pastoral woman to marry a non-pastoral man, but the opposite was not an issue. Pastoral men were not bound to pastoral culture especially those culture that favor men and oppress women. For example, polygamy was a common practice among pastoralist societies and men added or inherited women without obtaining consent from the wife or a woman who was being inherited as indicated in the following quotation:

Why should you seek permission from a woman? I can inform my wife or wives on the same day that I am going to marry another wife. Likewise, if my brother or relative dies, and if elders agree that I inherit her then the wife will be informed by the elders and I take her home⁸⁷.

During focus group discussions held in Rofati Village the women showed no opposition to the practice of inheritance but they were concerned about the one inherited:

The practice is not bad because it helps us take care of the children as we need the support of a man to raise and take care of children after a man has died. However, the woman who is inherited is not given a chance to give her opinion or choose who can inherit her. When your husband dies, it is male elders who decide who should inherit you⁸⁸.

Similarly, most women voted based on their spouses` or elderly men`s directives. This is because they feared voting against their men`s wishes. The women had the feeling that men

⁸⁷Personal interview with a pastoral man named Mr. Kilo, held in Rofati village on 24th July 2012.

⁸⁸Focus Group Discussion held in Rofati Village on 17th October 2010 .

would check with the polling station to confirm whether their wives had voted for a candidate of their choice.

*They can communicate with their fellow men and trace whether you have voted or not as well as whom you voted for. Sometimes they can go to a voter's clerk and ask, whom did their wives voted for. If he realizes that you voted contrary to what he told you he will beat you*⁸⁹.

Although women had this suspicion, it is practically impossible for men to cross-check women's votes because voting in Tanzania is under secret ballot system. Nevertheless, these results suggest that women's participation in voting was simply rubber-stamping to what had already been decided by men. This entails that nothing new would be decided by women other than what men had already decided. This was revealed during interviews that if a dispute occurred between a man and a woman, very often decisions were made in favor of the man.

That explains the deep rooted patriarchal system prevailing within the pastoral society and a limited chance of having decision-making on different domains other than male domain. As a result men's ideas continue to dominate in decision-making at the same time narrowing women's inputs in governance. This is in line with Spencer (1988) and Coast (2000) who view pastoralist societies as gerontocracies, whereby elder men dominate the prestigious political sphere in which they make decisions and settle disputes. Pastoral women in turn are regarded as less important than men in all spheres of life (Telle, 1988; Mungo'ng'o, 2003; Mung'ong'o and Mwamfupe, 2003).

That being the case, the scope of decision-making domain in pastoral societies largely depended on what men thought. As depicted in the results above in most cases pastoral women were sidelined in decision-making. As a result the decision-making domain in the pastoral setting revolved around men. Ngoitiko (2008) confirms that, pastoral women have many issues such as male oppression that might be presented to decision-making organs. However due to male dominance women's issues have always been suppressed by men. This has been a major problem of governance in pastoral settings. Decentralized local governance was meant to promote equality between men and women. Equally important, decentralized local governance targets to enhance people's participation in governance so as to have a diversity of ideas which eventually could have different domains of decision-making. However, traditionally pastoral women face male dominance that limits the women's freedom

⁸⁹Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Adelina, held in Rofati village on 17th November 2010.

to have a diversity of ideas. This suggests that no decisions made on different domains are experienced in pastoral societies except those within men's domain such as property ownership. Comparing these results to theoretical perspectives and discussions about participation and gender, I concur with the argument that women in governance has no impact on decision in different domains (Childs and Krook, 2009; Potts et al., 2003; Cornwall, 2008).

4.2.3.4 Different outcomes to service delivery

Service delivery was one of the prime issues which pastoral women were highly in need of due to the fact that most pastoralists lived in very remote areas, hence experienced difficulties in accessing services such as health, education and water. The women being home managers, inaccessibility of these services affected them to a great degree (Flintan, 2008). I assumed in this study that pastoral women's participation in decision-making would result in different outcomes in service delivery⁹⁰. Therefore, I enquired whether pastoral women's participation had different outcomes in service delivery? Who determines outcomes in service delivery? Was service delivery adequate and focused on women's needs?

My results did not confirm my postulation. Pastoral women's participation has no effect on service delivery. This was expected because as noted in my previous explanations decision-making organs are responsible for determining outcomes in service delivery and at the same time they are male dominated. Therefore, along with the setting of priorities, agenda setting and decision-making, service delivery outcomes are driven by males decisions.

I observed that, although women participated in meetings such as the Village Assembly in which important decisions in the village are made, their participation had no effect on different outcomes to service delivery. The women failed to influence improvements in or availability of service delivery within their localities. Consequently, the women continued to suffer from limited accessibility to social services such as health services, education and water despite their participation in decision-making organs. For instance, to access a water tap or a dispensary, the women had to walk several kilometers before reaching the water tap or dispensary. Likewise, there was chronic problem of inadequate medicine, medical equipment and other essential medical materials in dispensaries in the villages studied.

⁹⁰A range of services are being provided in Kondoa local authority, however for the purpose of this study service delivery will refer to water, education and health.

Similarly, there was no influence of women's participation in governance on education. In Gwandi Secondary school for instance, no students' dormitories were available which meant students have to rent houses nearby to the school premises. Renting was risky for female students as it provided freedom to the students to engage in sexual affairs, hence become prone to dropping out of school due to possibility of pregnancies at school. Nevertheless, the women seldom addressed the problem of dormitories as a serious concern for female students that need serious attention of decision makers.

Also, despite the long-lasting problems in healthcare service delivery, women's influence on improving the services was limited. As a result women were more exposed to risk situations than men as social services were directly linked to women's traditional roles of home care. During interviews it was revealed that sometimes some pastoral women experienced pregnancy complications at night but due to the fact that health services were allocated far from their residences, and at same time most men did not care about women's health, a woman might die because of inadequate healthcare services. Equally, a woman from Munigamba hamlet, Rofati Village had this to say:

The health center is far from here and there are no drugs or bandages in the center. Each time we visit the centre we are told to buy medicine except for children who are given for free. Above all when I complain to my husband that I am sick, he always doesn't want to listen to me. One day I felt sick at around 8 pm my man did not listen to my complaints. I had to send my children to my neighbor's house to ask for escort to the hospital in Gwandi which is about 15 kilometers from here⁹¹.

During focus group discussions I noted that, some women had not realized any significant change in service delivery, as revealed by one of the participants:

I have not seen any change with regards to service delivery. Every day we complain over the same problems of unavailability of water, medicine but nothing is being done. Our neighbors at Mrijo have abundant supply of water and they even enjoy electricity but when we want to charge our cell phones we have to walk for miles to look for electricity. This troubles many of us here in Magasa⁹².

⁹¹Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Erasto held in Rofati village on 10th October 2010.

⁹²Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Anita held in Magasa village on 20th March 2011.

Another one had this account:

One day a woman in Ugogoni woke up at around 4.00 am in the morning going to fetch some water from a well. Unknowingly, a hyena was following her behind, as she drew near to the well, she had her hand chopped off by the hyena. The matter was reported to the government in the District but nothing is done to solve the problem of water shortage. There is one water pump near by the ward office, which is not enough to cater for all of us, we needed about five of them, I think they will be enough for all of the villagers in Gwandi⁹³.

The above responses indicate the prevalence of social service delivery problems in the study area which put pastoralists, particularly pastoral women more at risk than men because of pastoralist traditions that restrict pastoral women to be solely responsible for domestic activities which go hand in hand with availability of social services. Anyhow, what I found in the field leaves much to be desired. For example, I observed that pastoralists have, because of the distances involved, continued to be disconnected from social services such as health services, education and water. In such a situation, women were the most hard hit as they had limited decision-making opportunities to influence change in service delivery. Consequently, pastoral women have continued to remain in risk situations. The women expressed concern that they were experiencing problems in accessing social services including the limited birth attendants in the remote areas where most pastoralists lived with no health services available. This goes against the literature that sees women as specialists of their own interests based on the context of their lives and that they are more concerned about social delivery than men (Celis et al., 2008; Phillips, 1995).

Response from the FGD conducted in Rofati Village revealed as follows:

We have no dispensary nearby, we have to go to Gwandi for medication. Few women are available and knowledgeable about maternal health who can assist our fellow women who are in need. We heard that there was a programme to provide a seminar to women so that more women could acquire knowledge about maternal health, but that has never been implemented⁹⁴.

⁹³Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Vedasto, held in Gwandi village on 15th December 2010.

⁹⁴Focus Group Discussion held in Rofati village on 15th February 2010.

Similarly, in the FGD conducted in Magasa Village, participants had this to say.

We voted for CCM in the 2000 election expecting that they would have a dam constructed for us. However, since then to date we have not seen them coming to build the dam⁹⁵.

During the focus group discussions held in Rofati Village, the women agreed that the services have not changed in years. Citing the livestock sector of which they are key stakeholders, the women were disgruntled by taxes on livestock medicine and livestock upon selling. When I asked if the women had ever communicated such queries to relevant authorities, this is was the response:

I have not told the government about the taxes they charge us because the government knows this. Even if I tell them nobody will listen to me but I don't know why they don't listen to our concerns.⁹⁶

Similarly, the result indicates that some pastoral women were nominated as representatives in decision-making organs such as village council committees (Table 2).

⁹⁵Focus Group Discussion held in Magasa village on 22nd March 2011.

⁹⁶Personal interview with a pastoral woman named Mama Erasto, held in Rofati village on 10th October 2010.

Table 2. Village committee members in Olboloti, Magasa, Rorati and Gwandi Villages in Kondo, District Council.

VILLAGE	Committee	Non-Pastoral men	Non-pastoral women	Pastoral men	Pastoral women	Total number of members
OLBOLOTI	Finance and Economic Planning	3	2	3	0	8
	Community Development	3	3	2	0	8
	Defence and security	2	2	4	0	8
	School	2	3	2	0	7
	Water	4	6	2	0	12
	Environment	2	3	2	0	7
	Lands Committee	3	3	1	0	7
MAGASA	Finance and Economic Planning	3	3	2	0	8
	Community Development	3	2	2	1	8
	AIDS	4	3	1	0	8
	Defence and security	5	1	2	0	8
	Water	2	1	1	2	6
	School	4	3	2	0	9
	Lands	3	2	2	0	7
ROFATI	Finance and Economic Planning	2	2	3	0	7
	Works	1	3	3	0	7
	Defence and Security	2	1	3	0	6
	Lands	2	1	2	0	5
	Environment	1	1	3	1	6
	School	1	1	2	1	5
GWANDI	Finance and Economic Planning	3	2	2	0	7
	Community Development	4	2	3	0	9
	Defence and Security	3	3	2	0	8
	School	3	1	2	2	8
	Lands	3	3	1	0	7

Source: Field data, 2011

Table 2 shows the number of representatives in various committees available in the four villages studied. The table indicates that pastoral women have the lowest number of representatives in the committees.

Moreover, it was reported that women representatives were not argumentative or vocal during committee meetings which entails low participation. The low pastoral women's participation in the committee suggests that the women's concerns were severely under-represented, and as a consequence, no or limited outcomes to service delivery would be realized. The limited number also suggests that pastoral women in the committees do not provide solutions to addressing women's concerns.

Different outcomes in services delivery go hand in hand with the women's ability to voice their demands about the service delivery and those ideas being worked out by the relevant authority (Childs and Krook, 2006a). However, in all focus group discussions I had in the four villages, pastoral women agreed that, traditionally they were not supposed to stand alone and make a suggestion or decision unless supported by men. They had to get approval from their men or spouses before they could go ahead with their plans or decisions that they wanted to

make as individuals or as a group. This is in line with Kipuri and Ridgewel (2008) who insist that unless women are empowered and have the confidence to voice their concerns, different outcomes will rarely be realized. Flintan (2008) also found that whether the women's participation had an impact or not it depended on men's willingness in the matter. Similarly, Gyimah and Thompson (2008) asserted that it is considered a sign of disrespect on the part of women to express their opinion in the midst of men as men consider women's ideas to be inferior. Yet, Flintan et al. (2011) had a different view that pastoral women's participation brings different outcomes in services delivery as the women had independent decisions to make, sometimes without men's interference. Nonetheless, the analysis of the results indicates that pastoral women are subordinate to men and men stand as the main decision makers, which limits outcomes in services delivery. This does not correspond to the idea that Tanzania is committed to improving service delivery at local government level as well as decision-making on gendered perspective (Schanke and Lange, 2008). Personally, I contend that it will take decades to realize pastoral women's impact in decentralized local governance in Tanzania.

Equally, the analysis of comparison of results for the effects of pastoral women's participation in governance reveals no variation in impact of pastoral women in governance. Throughout this section no effect has been realized in either setting of agenda, change in priorities, decisions in different domains or different outcomes in service as a consequence of pastoral women's participation in governance. Nevertheless, I have shown a few noticeable attempts by pastoral women to participate in the setting of agenda. Those attempts did not materialized as they were mocked by men and women on the basis that traditionally women do not think for themselves or have the authority to make decisions. Such thinking is dominant among both pastoral men and women thus affecting the impact of women's participation in governance.

Case study 2. Non-pastoral women's experiences in participation in decentralized local governance

In case study 1 I presented detailed information on pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance that provided answers to the research questions. In case study 2, I present information about non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local

governance. Research questions similar to those I used in case study 1 were used to guide the exploration of information in case study 2 and for sub headings in case study 2.

Section 4.3.1 How do non-pastoral women participate in decentralized local governance

My aim in this section was to explore information about the level of non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance with the focus on variables conceptualized in this study indicated in section 4.2.1. The same variables as well as specific questions which were used to guide the exploration of information on pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance in section 4.2.1, were also used to obtain information in this section. My intention was to obtain information that would contribute to providing answers to the first research question: how do pastoral women and non-pastoral women participate in decentralized local governance?

4.3.1.1 Non-pastoral women's participation in voting

Results indicated that most of non-pastoral women turned up for voting and were free to vote or not to vote in the October 2010 elections. During interviews most of the women were brave enough to show that they were free to vote as captured in the following quotations:

Respondent 1:

I voted because I know that it is my right and nobody can stop me from voting⁹⁷.

Respondent 2:

CCM must continue to rule. I went to vote so as to make sure that oppositions should not have a chance. There is no opposition in Tanzania which can beat CCM, they are still babies⁹⁸.

That notwithstanding, when the respondents were asked whether they had time to gather information, it was revealed that the women had information about CCM and its candidates. This was expected because CCM is a popular political party in Tanzania which is well established at the grassroots level of the country. However, the fact that the women had information about one party while there were many parties contesting suggest that the women

⁹⁷Personal interview with a woman named Mama Ali, held in Magasa village on 22nd August 2012.

⁹⁸Personal interview with a woman named Mama Erasto, held in Rofati village on 23rd July 2012.

voted without having enough information about the candidates they voted for. Equally, the women did not investigate information about candidates who were contesting for various positions as well as from various political parties. The women were biased towards the ruling political party. This suggested that the women did not make a balanced decision as they lacked adequate information which is paramount before a decision is made. According to Agarwal (2010) individuals who participate without having information are considered to be participating numerically which is the lowest level of participation.

During interviews women showed that they voted but they were gender neutral in voting despite one of the candidates contesting for a position of Member of Parliament being a woman. This is shown in the following responses from four different women:

Respondent 1:

*I don't consider being a woman or a man is a criterion. To me I find all were the same if they had time to lead*⁹⁹.

Respondent 2:

*“Ni haki sawa kwa wamaume na wanawake. Unyanyasaji sasa umepitwa na wakati” Meaning “equal rights to all men and women. Women’s insubordination is out of date”.*¹⁰⁰

Respondent 3:

*What I considered most is the candidates’ ability to lead*¹⁰¹.

Respondent 4:

*I didn’t think of gender when voting*¹⁰².

The above results are however contrary to our assumption that women have a tendency to vote for their fellow women candidates. Likewise the results are not in line with the literature

⁹⁹Personal interview with Mama Ali, held in Magasa Village on 22nd August 2012.

¹⁰⁰Personal interview with a woman who did not want to disclose her name, held in Magasa village on 22nd August 2012.

¹⁰¹Personal interview with a woman named Mama Ayubu, held in Olboloti village on 22nd October 2012.

¹⁰²Personal interview with a woman named Mama Uthna, held in Magasa village on 17th August 2012.

which insists that women should represent women (Phillips, 1995). The results are however in line with the critical actor's thinking that focuses on the role of actors in participation (Childs and Krook, 2008). That notwithstanding, one non-pastoral woman expressed frustration about candidates contesting for leadership positions.

To me I find no difference in leadership output because you can vote for a woman or a man but finally they all end up doing the same things. They don't listen to us and our problems have remained like that for years, despite the many promises they make to us every year. We complained for a dispensary, they promised us loans to start small businesses but none of them has been fulfilled¹⁰³.

This provided evidence that non-pastoral women lost hope in the leaders' ability or willingness to bring about the expected changes in their lives. As a result the women had lost faith in voting as something that had added value for them. If the women lost faith in voting then it implied that they were not actively participating in decision-making as suggested by Agarwal's levels of participation. This equally contests the view that participation is an empowering tool for powerless people in decision-making (WB, 1997; Luyet et al., 2012; Potts et al., 2003).

In another situation, results from the study revealed that some women voted for a ward councilor who had promised to residents around the ward to supply tractors and facilitate the building of schools. The councilor also promised to eradicate all contributions in primary schools and in health centers where most women were dissatisfied with the contributions. In addition, it was also revealed that most of the women had a preference for, and voted for, the ruling party because they had trust in it and that the CCM national presidential candidate was familiar to them as he was contesting for the second time.

We know Kikwete is our friend and a man who stands for the poor. He is a man of people always intending to serve the poor. Kikwete is the best and suits for the post. Personally, I voted for CCM and Kikwete so as to let him finish his term. What the opposition are saying is none sense, they just want to bring in chaos. Everybody in this country has been educated by CCM which served us from colonial period and has been ruling up to this time¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰³Personal interview with a woman named Mama Ayubu, held in Olboloti village on 22nd October 2012.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

From the quotation, it is clear that the woman had a positive image of CCM and its candidate, expressed through overgeneralizing sentiment such as ‘everybody in the country was educated by CCM’.

When I asked men for their opinion on voting, it was revealed that men voted for any candidate who would bring development. At the same time they were apathetic towards female candidates and suspicious of the candidates’ fitness for any post. This implied that when men talked about voting for any candidate, they did not include women. Men believed that women lacked the qualities necessary to become good leaders and to attract men’s votes. In this case, the results indicate that while women could vote for men, the opposite did not apply. This provided a challenge to decentralized local governance in Tanzania, which the government boasts to have attained, on enhancing equality between men and women in decision-making. Equally, the results challenge the critical actor’s theoretical perspective that men can stand and act for women’s concerns.

4.3.1.2 Non-pastoral women’s participation in attendance to meetings

As far as non-pastoral women’s attendance in meetings was concerned, I observed that although most of non-pastoral women attended meetings, they sat separately from men and occupied supporting roles for men during meetings. This implied a limited involvement of the women in meetings. Likewise, I observed that women did not get involved in discussions during the meetings and in most cases they followed the men’s discussions. Similar results were found by Mcewan (2005) who attested that women were supposed to keep quiet in meetings. This leaves the path clear for men to dominate most discussions as well as decision-making in meetings thus signifying low women’s participation in meetings. However, on some occasions, I observed some women at Olboloti village talking in low voices among themselves as the meeting was in progress. Similarly I observed women in Magasa village nodding on a point raised by a man which was about water shortages in the village. The women’s acts of talking in low voices and nodding do not by themselves indicate women’s participation because they did not rigorously express their opinion and so suggest inactive participation.

Similarly, I observed that despite the village executive officers in Gwandi and Rofati villages being women, they too did not speak or contribute during the meetings. The village executive officers confined themselves to recording what was being discussed and assumed that their

main role was to take minutes only. However, on different occasions I observed the executive officers talking and interacting confidently with men during social club gatherings whereby most of the talking was informal and about daily life experiences including politics. This suggests that women's participation in meetings depended on situation. The same women who could not talk in formal meetings behaved differently in informal meetings. Although the women were able to interact in informal meetings, their interaction did not guarantee women's substantive participation in decision-making.

That notwithstanding, I observed that the women's attendance at meetings corresponded to the timing and locations of the meetings. Those meetings which were held in the morning and far from the village headquarters, did not attract the attendance of women, most of whom were still performing their domestic activities including farming activities. Most women attended meetings which were held in the evening. The women who lived in the vicinity of the village headquarters, where most of the meetings were taking place, had a higher attendance rate than those who lived about 10 kilometers from the village headquarters. The correlation of timing, location of meetings and attendance to meetings was expected because evening time was convenient to the women in rural areas as at that time women had finished most of their domestic tasks and so had ample time to participate in governance activities. Similarly, it was obvious that those meetings that were held within localities attracted the women's attendance more than more distant meetings. However, contrary to the above expectations, I observed that in Olboloti Village for instance, women's presence and contributions to the meetings was low despite the meeting being held in the evening. Most of the women in the village were very busy doing business at the same time, those who attended paid less attention during meetings. These observations underscore the understanding of participation that insists on reforming institutions of participation and creating spaces for participation in order to enhance participation (Cornwall and Coelho, 2006). The observations are also different from what Beall (2005) and Powley (2008) indicated that physical proximity of subnational government to people, makes it easier for women to combine family activities with local politics including attending public meetings. Women's participation in meetings in decentralized local governance had continued to be a problem thus rejecting the assumption that there was a link between decentralized local governance and women's participation in local governance.

4.3.1.3 Non-pastoral women's participation in public protest

In addition to attendance to meetings, I explored how non-pastoral women participated in public protest assuming that the women would actively participate in public protest. Results are however contrary to that assumption. Non-pastoral women's participation in public protest was low. The women did not consider participation in public protest as a favorable approach to participation. The women I interviewed showed that they did not take part in demonstrations, violent acts or create any social unrest to the state. The women viewed involving themselves in public protest as something bad and so did not support participation through public protest. A woman in Gwandi village had this observation:

Why should I engage in demonstrations? I demonstrate then, the police will beat me and break my leg, for no reason. Imagine if your hand or leg is broken for nonsensical reasons, you will become poor, because when planting season comes you will not cope with the season as you will be in a hospital suffering from your broken leg or arm. It is better I stay at home and look at my children rather than engaging in street demonstrations¹⁰⁵.

Another respondent had similar view:

I always warn young men who prefer demonstrations and violence against the government not to go for that. They cannot challenge the government! After all nobody will hear them. They will end up being in jail¹⁰⁶.

Similarly another woman was of the view that demonstration was meant for opposition parties:

Let the opposition parties do the demonstration, I personally don't want. We are used to staying in peace. We have heard these demonstrations in recent dates, but during my young

¹⁰⁵Personal interview with a woman named Mama Victoria, held in Gwandi village on 30th July 2012.

¹⁰⁶Personal interview with the Ward Councilor for Gwandi (Female representative), held in Gwandi on 30th July 2012.

age we used not to experience such kind of things. It is the oppositions which have brought us demonstrations. We in the villages normally don't protest as urban dwellers do. Personally, I fear going against the government and feel ashamed even to stand before people, because I may fall down¹⁰⁷.

However one respondent had a different opinion about participation in public protest.

I am planning to mobilize women to demonstrate against the CCM government for failing to complete our dispensary which has been for years unfinished. The dispensary highly affects us women because we have to go to Mrijo for treatment of our kids when they fall sick and come back very late in the evening. However, the main problem I am expecting for the protest is that we are divided. Some of the women label us as violators of the law and always want quarrels with the government.....¹⁰⁸

From the interviews it was evident that although the women experienced problems which might be addressed by social unrest, the women did not want to use public protest as a solution to their problems. This provides an indication that the women's understanding of protest was negative and that it was not an ideal option for participation in governance. This explains commitment of the women especially in rural areas to the government. Most of the women observed preferred participating in a peaceful way such as attendance to meetings and being listeners to what was being said by leaders. Under this circumstance, women's participation was limited to peaceful means of participation.

4.3.1.4 Non-pastoral women's participation in public debates

Findings showed that non-pastoral women did not participate in public debates. Men were mostly involved in public debates. Party and football politics were among the topics that dominated in men's debates. The debates were most of the time conducted in Kiswahili

¹⁰⁷Personal interview with a woman named Mama Lita, held in Olboloti village on 20th September 2012.

¹⁰⁸Personal interview with a woman who did not want to disclose her name, held in Olboloti village on 20th September 2012.

sometimes mixed with vernacular languages. Sometimes the debates became heated to the extent of opposing sides physically fighting. For example, a heated political debate was observed in Olboloti village involving men supporters of two political parties CUF and CCM which resulted in fighting among the party opponents. The basis of the fight was the accusation that the CUF party had a religious base and therefore once the party gets into power it would create religious conflicts. Meena (2003) indicates that debates on party politics started gaining momentum in Tanzania from 1992 when multi-party politics was introduced to the country. Since then citizens' freedom to discuss party politics has increased.

However, all the time debates were going on, women were observed watching the men and did not involve themselves in the discussion. This illustrates how women tend to remain peaceful and are less prepared to get involved in argumentative issues which meant that the women's contributions did not become part of the debate.

Some women believed that participation in public was a waste of time and they showed no interest in engaging in the debates. This was confirmed during interviews when a woman said:

I have no time to waste in debating about politics, it is better I stay home and attend to my children rather than involving in unnecessary discussions, let those who have time do the debating¹⁰⁹.

Another respondent said:

Being a mother, I am responsible for taking care of my children, cleaning my house and preparing food for my school going children and other household tasks, if I am to get involved in these politics who will do my duties? They will all suffer, I must stay home and perform my duties, I have no time to waste¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁹Personal interview with a woman named Mama Juma, held in Magasa village on 30th August 2012.

¹¹⁰Personal interview with a woman named Mama Ali, held in Magasa village on 30th August 2012.

However, I observed that women of the neighboring houses usually came together and had discussions among themselves. The discussions happened in the evening between 4 and 6 pm and during Sundays from 3 pm, in which the women could share information about their experiences in family matters as well as individuals' personal affairs. Among the issues that dominated the women's discussions were domestic affairs including gossip, with little discussion about politics. A few women were observed involved in discussions about politics close to the election period but this ended immediately after the election period was over. Nevertheless, general observation indicated that the women's discussions had no value added to the public. This suggests that the women's participation in debates was also low and that few if any women could influence the political system through the kind of debates in which they were involved. This indicates that much as Tanzania emphasizes popular participation with the aim of empowering the marginalized, the empowerment is mostly on paper, as women were not empowered to actively participate in local governance, particularly in public debate (Green, 2010). I contend the observations by Meena that popular participation advocacy mainly targets integrating women in governance without considering quality of their participation (Meena, 2009).

4.3.1.5 Non-pastoral women's participation in political campaigns

Through observation I came to learn that in most of the campaign rallies conducted in the villages studied, the number of women attending the rallies outweighed generally that of men. However, I also observed that most of the women participated as listeners to what was being said by candidates or political parties. A few women attempted to ask questions to the campaigning candidates especially candidates for members of Parliaments as follows.

Respondent 1:

We were promised to have Kondoa district divided into two districts, when are we going to have our new Chemba district in place and what has been a progress so far¹¹¹?

Respondent 2:

Our secondary school in Gwandi has only two teachers and each time when teachers come to report for work, they go back and never come back, how are you going to assist us¹¹²?

¹¹¹Personal interview with a woman named Mama Erasto, held in Rofati village on 23rd July 2012.

¹¹²Personal interview with a woman named Mama Victoria, held in Gwandi village on 30th July 2012.

Respondent 3 had a suggestion as follows:

We have a serious problem of pastoralists' arrogance when their livestock encroach our farms. We want them to be kept away from us so that our crops are not damaged by their livestock¹¹³.

During interviews, it was alleged that some of the women who asked questions had prior communications with campaign managers who planted the women to ask the type of questions they wanted. This was confirmed in an interview with a woman in Gwandi village who complained that she wanted to ask a question but she was not picked. This underscores the literature that places emphasis on the role of actors in participation without considering circumstances surrounding the actors (Childs and Krook, 2009).

Anyhow, most of the women interviewed showed that they had not taken the trouble to obtain information on the candidates prior to coming to campaign meetings. I confirmed this when I asked the women about their knowledge of candidates who were standing. Most of the women admitted that they had no detailed information about the majority of candidates who were taking part. One woman at least was conversant with a candidate for Member of Parliament and stated that:

I know Alhaj Juma Nkamia¹¹⁴, who has been working with Tanzania Broadcasting Company before he went to work in America. He has been contesting for Member of Parliament for the last two terms but in vain. Juma is a friendly man and famous in our place, he used to come and organize football matches for our young men and generally he is a generous man. I am certain that this time he will win¹¹⁵.

That notwithstanding, most women interviewed showed great concern about poor social service delivery in their localities and that the services such as health were crucial components in the women's daily life. However, despite showing concern, hardly any of the women addressed social services in campaign meetings. During campaign meetings I observed women enjoying wearing T- shirts, hats and dresses commonly known as *Khanga* and *Kitenge* as well as toting posters which were printed with image of the candidates. This by implication suggests that women were used by political parties or candidates as campaign

¹¹³Personal interview with a woman named Mama Lia, held in Olboloti village 19th September 2012.

¹¹⁴Is an elected Member of Parliament for Kondo.

¹¹⁵Personal interview with a woman named as Pilly held in Gwandi village on 12th August 2012.

tools but were not actively involved in campaign activities. In this scenario an interesting question is, are women representing women's interests? The answer is certainly no.

4.3.1.6 Non-pastoral women's participation in vying for leadership position

In addition to participation in political campaign activities, results showed that non-pastoral women were aware of their right to contest for leadership positions as attested in the following responses:

Respondent 1:

The issue of women not contesting in leadership positions was an outdated one. We want women to contest and become president¹¹⁶.

Respondent 2:

Women should also contest like men but personally I don't want politics¹¹⁷.

Respondent 3:

I know that women can become leaders better than men¹¹⁸.

Apart from being aware, it was observed that non-pastoral women ran for various leadership positions in the localities and others were nominated for executive positions. However, most of them confined themselves to less competitive leadership positions. The women were observed inclining to positions which were set for women only but not in the strong

¹¹⁶Personal interview with a woman named Mama Amina held in Olboloti village on 10th July 2012.

¹¹⁷Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity, held in Magasa village on 22nd August 2012.

¹¹⁸Personal interview with a woman named Mama Uthna, held in Magasa village on 22nd August 2012.

competitive positions such as constituency seats in which all men and women competed. Similarly, observations made in village councils, demonstrated that in all the four villages studied women occupied only positions reserved for them in the village council as well as the village council committees. During focus group discussions, women confirmed that they did not want to take the trouble to vie for competitive positions because readymade positions had been reserved for them to contest.

During a key informant interview with Gwandi Ward Councilor (Special Seat) she had this to say:

Since we have these seats reserved for us women, I didn't see any need to contest for a constituency one which is too much involving and costly. I am conformable with the special seats for women. ¹¹⁹

Similarly in a key informant interview with Mrijo ward Councilor (Special Seat) also said:

We leave the constituency seat to men because they are capable of running here and there. After all men have no option apart from constituency seat. ¹²⁰

One of the Member of Parliament for Kondoa, who is a woman, had this to say:

This is a problem as most of the women prefer reserved seats. My plea is that, women should change a habit of preferring for reserved seats and move on to contest for constituent seats like some of us. I have contested and competed with men, yet I won. ¹²¹

¹¹⁹Personal interview with the Ward Councillor (Special seat) Gwandi ward, held in August 2012.

¹²⁰Personal interview with the Ward Councillor (Special seat) Mrijo ward, held in July 2012.

¹²¹Personal interview with Hon Z. Mhita MP for Kondoa, held in Kondoa in September 2010.

Nevertheless, the fact that the majority of the women opted to stand for reserved (less competitive) seats alone-implied that women's participation in leadership positions was limited to the attainment of a critical mass of women (Krook, 2004). Similarly, this also explains why women do not dare to compete for stronger positions rather opting for the readymade positions. Consequently, the women's competitive power became reduced, leading to a continued male's dominance in decision-making. Similar results were found by Meena (2003) who confirmed that the quota system in Tanzania was not a solution to women's participation in decision-making as it eroded the women's competitive power in vying for political positions. It could be ideal if the discourse about participation and gender has to move beyond solving women's numbers in decision-making organs which is a base for a quota system and focus on broader issues of transformation of women's participation.

Nonetheless, I also observed that all key positions to decision-making were occupied by men. Such positions included the Village Council Chairpersons who were also Village Assembly Chairpersons. These findings are similar to those of Per Tideman and Msami (2010) who attested that men are still more active in local government leadership than women. It was confirmed during interviews that the Chairpersons were alleged to have been biased in favor of men and provided opportunities to men to dominate decisions made in the Councils and Village Assemblies, and at the same time ignoring women's contributions to decision-making. Similarly, the women revealed that they experienced several setbacks in the nominations process for various posts such as bureaucratic procedures and corruption. Most decision makers involved in the nomination process were men most of whom demanded corrupt favors such as having affairs with women who wanted to contest for leadership posts. Likewise, nomination procedures were full of nepotism implying that those who knew people or were connected to groups involved in nominations stood a better chance of being nominated.

When I cross-checked information about men's nomination, it was revealed that it was easier for men to be nominated for leadership positions than women because, men had easier and freer interactions among themselves and sometimes with women which helped them to network easily. Observations showed that men usually met in social clubs and could stay up to late at night drinking alcohol and chatting. During the drinking, men used the opportunity to socialize and discuss various issues including conducting informal campaigns or de-campaigning for vying in leadership position. This was in stark contrast to women who were for most of the time constrained with home activities though a few older women attended

social club gatherings but they went back home before sunset. This limited interaction explains why women's chances to interact and exchange ideas with others and find opportunities to contest for leadership positions are severely limited. As a result women do not feature in leadership positions and are reduced to becoming passive participants in leadership positions as indicated in the Agarwal's levels of participation.

That notwithstanding, results confirmed that a few non-pastoral women contested and competed with men in constituency seats. For instance, one non-pastoral woman contested for a Member of Parliament constituency seat for Kondoa district and won. This suggested that men and women had equal opportunities to compete and win. However, in an interview with the woman Member of Parliament, it was revealed that most women lacked courage to vie for leadership positions and compete with men, hence they preferred less competitive seats. The fact that women preferred less competitive position suggested that their ability to influence decisions was also low. This is because leaders selected through affirmative action have fewer opportunities to participate than those selected through constituency seats. For instance, to vie for a position of Chairperson for the District Council as well as Ward Development committee, an individual must be ward councilor elected from a constituency. This implies that as most women were standing for reserved seats, they themselves were denied chances to vie for a position of Chairperson for the District council as well as Ward Development Committee and so limiting their ability to influence decisions in these highest decision-making organs in Districts and Wards.

4.3.1.7 Non-pastoral women's participation in the District Council

During fieldwork I found that non-pastoral women participated in the District Council as members of the council (Table 3). Although non-pastoral women had attained a considerable number of seats in the District Council, Childs and Krook suggest that it is important to ascertain whether the women representatives have a voice or voices in the council and what role the numerical strength plays in enabling them to act as and for women (Childs and Krook, 2006a).

Table 3. Membership composition of the Kondoa district council

Membership category	Non-pastoral men	Pastoral Men	Non-pastoral women	Pastoral women
Elected councilors	40	8	0	0
Special Seat councilors	-	-	17	0
MPs- elected	1	-	1	0
MP Special Seat	-	-	1	0
Sub Total	41	8	19	0
Total number of council members	68			

Source: Field data, 2012.

Table 3 above indicates that out of a total of 68 members of the District Council, 40 members were non-pastoral men, 8 pastoral men, 19 non-pastoral women and none of the members was from the pastoral women category. Out of the 19 members, 18 were women nominated under affirmative action and one constituent member who was also a Member of Parliament in the District.

During the full council meeting I observed that very often the women representatives were not representing women's interests but mostly general issues public interest. The women asked questions related to general welfare such as education and water with a focus on winning support from their political party so that they could be re-elected in the next round. Questions or agenda points that addressed directly women's welfare such as maternal health and women subordination were limited. For instance, it was observed during the District Council meeting that a woman member of the council argued bitterly against the problem of information breakdown from the District Council staff to councilors and wanted the full council to hold the staff who caused the delay to account. She was also concerned about procedures to dismiss lazy workers in the council. Another woman member raised a motion to increase allowances for the full council members. All these observations give an indication that the so called women's representatives were there to represent more of their personal interests than their women's concerns. This confirms Pitkin's main challenge of the critical mass approach that it stresses composition of political institutions rather than its activities (Pitkin, 1967). As these results indicate there was a mismatch between how women participated in the full council and what was expected from them as women representatives. In this regard women's specific issues were not represented as well as those that pertained to personal issues and the overall struggle to be re-elected. This rejects Phillips' idea that links resemblance in characteristics of representatives and represented category (Phillips, 1995). The idea is highly hypothetical as Catt argues that there is a difference between a messenger and message. It is not always necessary for the messenger to deliver the intended message (Catt, 2003).

Anyhow, when I asked if the woman councilor had ever presented a bill to the full council, a woman councilor for Mrijo ward had this to say:

I have so far presented two motions. The first one was about formation of women income generating groups. This is because I have found that women need economic empowerment which will liberate them from other sources of male subordination. Why should a woman ask from a man, money to buy salt? I believe that when women are empowered they are capable. The second motion was about the problem of school dropout especially among pastoral societies in Mrijo. This problem is critical and which requires extra efforts to educate pastoralism so as to allow their children attend school. Most pastoralists believe that sending their children to school is a waste of time as the children were needed for grazing. Therefore, I must admit that this is still a challenge for me to convince pastoralist to allow their children go to school instead of grazing¹²².

In the same interview the ward councilor expressed her concern about and described her effort to fight the spread of HIV-AIDS among pastoral societies which are prone to spreading the diseases through culturally sanctioned practices such as polygamy. This suggests that if women have the ability to participate and if empowered to participate in decision-making, they could participate like men could do by looking on issues beyond their surroundings, implying that she was able to defend even the interest of pastoral societies despite belonging to non-pastoral societies.

Some women who contributed during the council meetings were less confident than the men and most of them sat separately from men which suggests that the women self-marginalized which contributed to their disempowerment. In an interview with the Women Ward Councilor in Gwandi I found that women showed a lack of confidence to participate in decision-making. This supports the idea that women's lack of confidence affected women's participation as they could not firmly stand and defend their interest as attested by the Member of Parliament for Kondoia:

Most of women come to a meeting for the sake of coming and very often limited questions come from women each time we have meetings though their attendance is good. The main

¹²²Personal interview with the ward councilor for Mrijo (Special Seat), held in July, 2012.

contributing factor towards the women's participation behavior is lack education. Most of them are illiterate which make them have no confidence for fully participating in meetings¹²³.

This provided an indication that representation of women in the council was weak as the women representatives were not confident to represent their fellow women and their representation was more for personal gain than the majority interest. This suggested that the women's participation in the council meeting was basically confined to a passive level as indicated in the Agarwal's levels of participation.

However, I observed a few women talking confidently and interacting with men during and after the Council meetings. This was observed when a chairman of the council wanted to get women's opinion, one woman ward councilor having a feeling of being interrupted, thus confidently argued:

It is my turn to talk, after all you are not a woman¹²⁴.

In addition, I observed some women attending council meetings as ordinary citizens in the district. I however observed that only few women compared to men participated in the meetings as ordinary citizens despite the fact that most of residences surrounding the district headquarters were non-pastoralist residences. This also suggests limited women's participation in the council because when the aim of giving the opportunity to ordinary citizens to participate in the council meeting was meant to broaden people's participation through transparency so as to increase people's awareness of what the council decided on various matters for a well-functioning decentralized local governance. Nonetheless, participation in the Council meetings for ordinary citizens was legally restricted to the nominal level without giving citizens opportunity to contribute to the Council decisions.

¹²³Personal interview with Honorable Juma Nkangaa, Member of Parliament for Kondoa held on 29th September 2010.

¹²⁴Remark from Ward Councillor (Special Seat) for Kwamtoro ward.

4.3.1.8 Non-pastoral women's participation in the Village Assembly

Participation in the Village Assembly was open to every resident of 18 years and above within a respective village. In addition, most non-pastoral women were free to participate or not to participate. This was confirmed during interviews held with different women about their attendance to the assembly and revealed that the women were free to attend meetings. However, women were constrained by several factors such as farming, not hearing calls for meetings and others were reluctant to attend meetings.

Those who attended also showed that they were willing to attend the village assembly meetings but they accused leaders of not convening the meetings often enough as summarized in the following quotation:

I usually attend the assembly because it is important meeting regardless of the political party one belongs to, the assembly is for all. The problem with our leaders is that they never convene these meetings often¹²⁵.

The quotation is on the one hand in line with the civic voluntarism approach to participation that considers participation as a valuable thing that individuals envy. On the other hand, the quotation challenges Rosenstone and Hansen's thinking that in order for someone to participate, he or she must get or anticipate something in return (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993).

However, as much as the women express a willingness and the freedom to participate or not to participate in the Assembly meetings, most of them participated by attendance. Observations showed that during the meetings most of the time the women were passive, reserved and simply listened to what was being said. In most cases, men initiated motions and did most of the talking and few women contributed during meetings. Those women who did contribute had the same characteristics. For example in Magasa village, one woman who was also a wife of the Village Chairman, was observed being very talkative in the Village Assembly meeting. Among the motions which the woman brought, was a demand for the facilitation of women's groups, subsidized fertilizer, as well as a need for completion of the village dispensary.

¹²⁵Personal interview with a woman named Mama Erasto, held in Rofati village on 15th July 2012.

A Similar observation was made during the Village Assembly in Rofati whereby a pastor's wife was very vocal during the meeting at the same time one woman who was married to pastoral man was also particularly vocal in the meetings. However, in all the village assembly meetings the women sat separately from the men. In Gwandi village and Olboloti Villages, the ward councilors were also talkative during meetings and addressed general issues such as the availability of water and health services but did not address women's specific issues. Interestingly observations made during village assembly meeting in Gwandi village showed that some women talked among themselves in a low voice, about a death in Dares Salaam and the fact that the body was to be transported to the village. This suggests that the women were not part of the meeting which implied that the women's participation in the assembly was low. This provides for a justification to analyze the role of specific actors in participation in order to understand substantive participation (Celis, 2008).

4.3.1.9 Non-pastoral women's participation in the Village Council

Non-pastoral women's participation in the Village Council was limited to special seats reserved for women only which made up only one third of the full body of council members. It was revealed that all four Village Councils maintained the minimum required number of seven women in the councils as per the Local Government Act No. 7 of 1982 establishing Village Councils in Tanzania. However, I observed that the women representatives were free to attend or not to attend the meeting serving mainly to fulfill the women statistics requirements in the council without having significant input to the council meetings. For instance, one woman Village Council member for Rofati Village was observed working on her farm located nearby the village on the same day when the village council meeting was going on. When I asked why she did not attend the meeting, she replied that she had limited time for farming activities as she wanted to make the most of the rainy season which was soon coming to an end. This implies women's representation in decision-making organs suffered most compared to men because in addition to the fact that there were fewer women's representatives than men, many of the women had not been attending to meetings. This challenges the critical actors theoretical perspectives which posit that a small number of women or even an individual woman can bring about change in governance (Childs and Krook, 2009).

Nonetheless, when I asked whether the few women representatives had ever presented an agenda to the council, most of the women representatives reported that they had not done so on the basis that they are rarely noticed during meetings. Childs and Krook (2006a) confirm that a critical actor may be willing to act for women's concerns but she or he may fail to act due to various circumstance surrounding him or her. This was confirmed during interviews with a woman representative in the Gwandi Village Council. The representative revealed that she was concerned about the limited clean water services in the village where only one tap was available for the whole village. That notwithstanding, the women representative complained that despite of presenting the bill to the council many times, nothing was being done to solve the problem. Similarly, in a Village Council of Olboloti village, a woman council representative was concerned about the lack of tractors for plowing which had led to a sharp increase in hire prices. These results are similar to Agarwal (2010) who observed that elected women representatives were busy maintaining their political positions by struggling to attract voters from the general public and not specific women's interest. This suggests that although women participated as critical actors their participation did not guarantee representation of women's interests. This raises questions as to the applicability of critical actor's as well as critical mass theoretical perspectives in explaining women's participation in governance. From the results we are left with the dilemma as to which one matters? Is it numbers or actors? During key informant interview with Kondoa Member of Parliament, she had the following views:

Although it was normally alleged that women stand a better chance to participate in decision-making within decentralized local governance, especially after the introduction of positive discrimination policy in Tanzania, we still have a long way to go. The policy has solved only part of the women's participation problem, which is numerical. The remaining problem of women's participation in decision within decentralized local governance which is yet to be solved is about how do they participate? What do the women do after they have entered the meeting room? If these questions are solved women's participation in governance will have a meaning to women.¹²⁶

The above quotation indicates that increasing the number of women in governance was hoped to achieve substantive women's participation. Nevertheless, it appears that increasing numbers has not solved problems of women's substantive participation. This is contrary to

¹²⁶Remarks by Hon. Z. Mhita, MP for Kondoa, given on 12th August 2010.

Yoon's findings that an increase in women's parliamentary representation in Tanzania has increased the volume of women's contribution to parliamentary debates (Yoon, 2011).

However, comparative analysis of the results show that participation in campaigning, voting and vying for leadership positions was higher than in decision-making organs, public debates and protest. This is because the women showed several attempts to actively take part in campaign meetings including putting questions to campaigning candidates about various issues within their localities. Similarly, during voting the women were free to decide to vote or not vote. Not only that, but also most non-pastoral women vied for leadership positions and were able to compete with men. This was not the case with women's participation in public protest and debates. Generally, the women had a negative perception of participation in public protest and considered participating in public debate as wastage of time. Moreover, unlike the women's participation in campaign meetings, their participation in decision-making organs was mostly nominal. The high level of women's participation in campaigning, voting and vying for leadership positions is explained by an increased level of awareness as to the importance of participating in the same.

Section 4.3.2. Dynamics of non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

In section 4.3.1, I presented information concerning how non-pastoral women participated in decentralized local governance. In this section, I present information regarding why the women were participating the way they were participating. Similar variables and theories used in section 4.2.2 were also used in this section 4.3.2 to obtain and discuss information on the dynamics of non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance. The information obtained contributed to providing answers to the second research question of this study which is: why did pastoral women and non-pastoral women participate in the way that they did?

4.3.2.1 Social norms and values

Results showed that social norms had an influence in determining non-pastoral women's participation in decision-making as the norms and values defined the woman's position in a household and community as being lower than that of men and women were socialized to be obedient to men. During interviews some women indicated that they did not attend meetings

because they were not allowed to by their spouses while others revealed that they were allowed by their spouses to attend meetings. Similarly, some women interviewed showed that they were tired of a situation in which they lacked time to participate in meetings due to their domestic activities. This was supported by the Ward Councillor (Special seat) of Gwandi Ward who commented that women were constrained by traditions from participating in various public activities. The Ward Councillor insisted that unless a woman has a very understanding man¹²⁷, she will not be free to participate in governance activities. She cited her husband as a very understanding man, who was not opposed to her participation in a leadership position.

Furthermore, it was revealed during interviews that some women were still subjected to some norms that limited their participation in governance. For instance, it was observed that it was still the norm that all domestic activities were solely women's activities and there was no way a man could perform any domestic activities such as cooking. These activities constrained the women from participating in public activities as the activities consumed most of the women's time. This was confirmed by Soro and Maran (2010) who argued that women's participation in decision-making was a function of values and norms. According to Soro and Maran norms and values, define what kind of behaviors are expected from women at different occasions in as far as participation in decision-making is concerned, hence forming a variation in the women's participation.

The norms includes payment of "bride price"¹²⁸ which was found to be predominant in most Kondo societies. During focus group discussions the women complained that bride price has continued empowering men and made the men assume all powers over their wives including decision-making. During the same discussions, it was revealed that men used the tradition of payment of bride price as a justification to treat women as property and made the women the personal property of men, who have no say about themselves and or society. Likewise, men interpret bride price as a license to claim power over women and treat them as personal property. In some societies, a bride price is claimed back when it happens that a marriage has broken down and a woman has to be sent back to her parents. If that happens after a woman has had children, then only part of the bride price would be paid back to the husband's family. Consequently, fear of having to pay back bride price which sometimes happens several years

¹²⁷A man who does not strongly abide to social norms and cares not about his wife participating or not participation in public activities.

¹²⁸Is a payment made by a man to a woman's parent for the purpose of marrying a woman. The payment is usually made in form of cash, livestock or crop products depending on a society in which a woman comes from and as prescribed by the woman's father.

after the marriage has taken place, compels women to keep to their marriages vows. Most of the vows compel a woman to be a listener to all that a man/husband says or decides for her.

Similarly, the practice of traditional initiations¹²⁹ was still being held up by some of the societies in Kondoa though it was not compulsory for girls to undergo. Also, some norms that obstructed women's freedom of movement as well for example the requirement for women to be back home before sunset were still being practice by the women. These norms emphasized that women had to be back at home before the village chickens were back home. Usually village chickens returned at around 6 pm, therefore a proper socialized woman had to be back at home before 6 pm.

Equally, norms have prevented women from freely interacting with either men or with a other women. As it was considered a norm that a woman should stay at home most of the time and perform domestic activities, it was bad manners for a woman to be associating with men as such women were usually labeled by society as prostitutes as emphasized in the following quotation.

A woman has to be careful when interacting with men. Usually, women who easily interact with men were termed as having bad manners and outcasts. This is because our people here usually think that by interacting with men so easily would means that one can have sexual relationship with them, which is sometimes not true. This is even worse to a married woman as her husband would not allow her to freely interact with other men and freely exchange idea with them. If it so happens, it will cause misunderstanding in a family which eventually may result in divorce, something which majority of women don't want to happen. That is the main reason you find women fail to participate in public affairs¹³⁰.

Mercer (2002) had similar findings noting that women did not join social groups for several reasons including husbands unwillingness to allow their wives to join groups. However, a different observation showed that elderly women and unmarried ones were less constrained by social norms as they freely interacted with men during social club gatherings and other informal gatherings. In an interview with an elderly woman about adherence to social norms, she replied that she was old enough and that nobody would have misunderstood regarding her interaction with men.

¹²⁹A tradition that teaches girls among other things a behaviour of being submissive and respectful to men. Men used women's submissive behaviour to dictate decisions on them to men's favour.

¹³⁰Personal interview with a woman named Mama Ally, held in Magasa village on 17th September 2012.

All whom you see here are like my children, some of them are my grandchildren and others are my in laws so I am free to interact with them and they buy me alcohol and we drink together¹³¹.

The above quotation suggests that social norms varied among women. Old women were less constrained by norms than young women. This suggests that more old women were expected to actively involve themselves in decision-making than young ones. However although elderly women enjoyed freedom of interaction, it was mostly in social contexts and on less serious issues. When it came to serious matters such as involvement in policy issues for instance, the women's interaction becomes limited at the same time men become the dominant group.

However, men for their part did not want to disclose the fact that they were a problem to women's participation in decision-making though observations showed that the majority of the men did not want their spouses to participate in public affairs on the grounds that by so doing, they would become irresponsible at home, as one man bitterly said.

If I allow my wife to attend those meetings of yours, do you want me to cook? I think you have come to enlighten our wives and you want them overthrow us, which is not good¹³².

This is similar to what Jan and Akhtar (2008) confirmed that women were traditionally less involved in decision-making at all levels of governance and they were not recognized as having an important role in decision-making. However, during interviews some men were positive to what their wives requested and tended to be impartial by letting the women themselves decide what they wanted to decide. Such instances included cases where women were required to attend meetings or seminars that promised payment for sitting allowances. This implied that social norms applied to women varied depending on what was expected from the women's participation.

Although on the one hand our results point out that social norms were contributing factors towards explaining women's participation, on the other hand it revealed that the norms were loosely binding the women. Women were not strongly forced to uphold the norms which were of low efficacy; that is the norms in prohibiting or pulling women to participate in decision-making. This was confirmed during interviews that most of the norms that used to be strong in the past had diminished and the women no longer experienced constraints in participation in decision-making due to norms. For instance, it was reported that in the past two decades, the

¹³¹Personal interview with a woman named Mama Mtabaji, held in Gwandi village on 1st August 2012.

¹³²Personal interview with Mr. Mtabaji, held in Gwandi Village on 1st August 2012.

women were strongly socialized not to interrupt a man when talking unless the man had finished talking and it was strictly required that a woman would not sit together with men and freely interact with them, and this included having meals together. Such norms had to a great extent limited women's freedom of interaction including interacting with men. Similarly men have been using norms to disadvantage women in most cases when making decision. Studies by Raju (1997) and Hobley (1990) confirmed that women face several norm restrictions from participating in various public activities as some norms prohibit women from speaking or arguing against men which to a great extent contribute to limiting the women's active participation in decision-making.

That notwithstanding, during focus group discussions it was agreed that norms such as those restricting women speaking before men were diminishing. Similarly, those norms that treated as misfits women who argued against men and those who wanted to contest leadership positions were also on the decline. This was confirmed during a seasonal market meeting as well as social club meetings when there was considerable and frequent interaction between men and women. The high level of interaction was helped by the fact that majority of the women and men had had a formal education, at least primary education which accounted for both men and women realizing their rights including a right to interact and socialize. During an interview with a women in Olboloti Village, it was attested that norms were not as strongly binding as they used to be in the past decades:

To a greater extent these norms have been weakening, because men have come to understand that women like any other human being have a right to participate in decision-making. Therefore, we no longer talk of norms nowadays¹³³.

Similarly, during interviews with a village Chairman for Olboloti village, it was revealed that oppressive norms were almost nonexistent in the village as the women themselves knew their rights through various sensitizations which the women had received.

These days, things have changed because if you beat your wife today, the same day it will be reported on a radio and a policeman will come to arrest you. In the past we never experienced such issues of family matters reported on the radios¹³⁴.

¹³³Personal interview with a woman named Mama Zulfa, held in Olboloti village on 23rd September 2012.

¹³⁴Personal interview with the Olboloti Village Chairperson, held in September 2012.

The above positive changes in the efficacy of norms are in line with what Festré (2010) suggested that norms may not provide the best explanation for women's patterns of participation because, they have the weakness of implicitly adopting explanations which can never be refuted despite the change in time and location. Festré insisted that heterogeneous societies have a tendency of weakening social norms, and give less attention to the upholding of social norms as the case may be in homogeneous traditional societies. Nevertheless, a critical look at the results shows that on the one hand norms are somehow weak in determining women's participation. However, on the other hand norms still prevail in determining women's participation. This goes against Cleaver's conclusion that social norms occupy a secondary place in explaining women's participation in decision-making compared to other factors (Cleaver, 1999).

4.3.2.2 Gender stereotype

Like social norms our results revealed that gender stereotyping was still prevalent and had a role to play in determining women's participation in decision-making. Most men regarded women in governance as misfits, as is clear in the following responses:

Respondent 1:

Imagine you choose her a leader and then she falls pregnant. The following day you hear that the president is on maternity leave¹³⁵.

Respondent 2:

Since time immemorial to date I have never heard a woman president¹³⁶.

Respondent 3:

¹³⁵Personal interview with a man named Mr. Ally, held in Magasa village in September 2012.

¹³⁶Personal interview with a man named Mr. Mtabaji, held in Gwandi village on 1st August 2012.

Those men who allow their wives to contest for leadership positions have problems. They are abnormal¹³⁷.

Respondent 4:

If you want to seriously insult a man, tell him that, you think like a woman. This is because women are considered to have low thinking. Men have always been using the word “woman” to show disregard among themselves especially during confrontations.¹³⁸

During focus group discussions held in Magasa Village participants agreed that gender stereotypes were still dominant in the society and were still a problem to women's participation in decision-making in many non-pastoral societies within Kondoa. For instance, some women still believed that a man had always to be head of the household and more intelligent than a woman, at the same time a woman was considered less intelligent and the weaker sex. In this regard, women could not participate in masculine activities such as occupying leadership positions because they could not perform well simply because they were women. Such stereotypes deterred most of women from involving themselves in activities which are thought of as masculine and sometimes made them doubt their ability to participate in decision-making.

During the same focus group discussions in Magasa, the women indicated that to a great extent gender stereotypes were also being phased out in many places as women and men came to understand that women like men were able to participate in `men's` activities. The women indicated that they were capable of becoming leaders like men; however what they would suffer from was lack of time to perform home commitments as well as leadership commitments as shown in the following quotation:

The problem with women is lack of time. Most of women have commitment at home as a result they lack time for other activities. Sometimes you are needed at home and at the same time you have to attend meetings then it becomes challenging for women, otherwise we are all the same and when given position we can perform. Contrary to the old time which it was a myth to find a woman contesting in leadership position, nowadays even men themselves know that women

¹³⁷Personal interview with a man named Mr. Pantaleo, held in Rofati village on 1st August 2012.

¹³⁸Personal interview with a woman named Mama Latifa, held in Magasa village on 28th September 2012.

*can become good leaders and I have seen men allowing their wives to contest for various leadership positions*¹³⁹.

Equally, during focus group discussions in Olboloti, women were in agreement that the issue of gender stereotypes had been declining and both men and women were aware that they had equal chances to participate in decision-making. Similarly, women indicated that they viewed men and women as equal and that they could all participate and become good leaders. The women mentioned that competence and readiness for the job an individual woman or man was going to be appointed or was vying for, were the determinants for electing a person into leadership positions.

During interviews, men showed that gender stereotypes were still prevalent in the villages studied as they insisted that naturally and physically women are viewed by men to be weaker than men and do not have ability to participate in certain jobs. The men believed that certain jobs were exclusively meant for men and that was the basis for women not being considered in some posts as stated by a man in the following statement:

*If I hear that a woman is ordained into priesthood, I will abandon the church on the same day.*¹⁴⁰

Such line of thinking depicts the prevalence of gender stereotypes in the societies studied which to a greater extent contribute toward limiting women's participation in decision-making. Likewise, some men insisted that women would not make good leaders if appointed and should they prove to be a good leader it would be because of their spouse or other men. When I wanted clarification on such a paradigm, a man attested that:

*Personally, I did not vote for a woman because if you choose a woman to become your leader know that it is the man who leads. This is because whatever a woman does has to ask from her husband, now in that context who will be leading? A woman or a man?*¹⁴¹

When I asked women what they thought men's beliefs about women were, surprisingly a woman in the Rofati village strongly supported the men's idea that women do not make good leaders. The woman elaborated that if a woman is elected into power, she was not going to assist or help her fellow women because women did not naturally love each other. To amplify her opinion the woman had this to say:

¹³⁹Focus Group Discussion held in Gwandi village in August 2012.

¹⁴⁰Remark by a man named Mr. Onesmo, Roffati village on 2nd August 2012.

¹⁴¹Personal interview with Mr. Onesmo, held in Rofati Village on 2nd August 2012.

I did not vote for a woman. Women cannot become good leaders as we are jealous of each other and above all we don't love each other. This is a serious and main challenge we have as women and that is why I see no way can a woman make a good leader. Let them (men) lead and make us women become assistants. To me, I find love among women is the main challenge and that is the issue women should fight for and not equality with men. Men do not have problems with women but the main problem is with us women, we don't love each other.¹⁴²

The above quotation signifies that some women believe that their fellow women lack the ability to make good leaders. These results are similar to Msafiri (2007) who views the problem of women's lack of participation in decision-making is being rooted within women themselves. The women according to Msafiri consider themselves as incapable of becoming good leaders. Such a stereotype had been inculcated into women and had become part of their life, hence helping to deter women's participation in decision-making. Cole (2011) also noted that there were serious gender stereotypes against women's participation in leadership positions in Liberia. This is however contrary to the literature which posits that the presence of women in decision-making organs can lead to changes in legislative discourse, proposals, debates and outcomes that support women's concerns (Childs and Krook, 2009).

4.3.2.3 Power relations

Results indicated that men dominated most of the important decisions in households. For instance, women needed permission or consent from their spouses before they decided to travel away from home. In an interesting situation a woman reported that she voted for a candidate who was supported by her husband because she was threatened with divorced should she vote contrary to her spouse's wishes.

I voted for the CCM candidate because my husband is a supporter of CCM party and he openly said to me that in case I voted for an opposition candidate I would be in trouble. I feared losing my marriage, therefore I voted as he wished to avoid problems¹⁴³.

It should be noted that marriage was one of the most valuable things to most of the women in Tanzania which they felt proud of and most of them were not ready to lose it.

In most societies men had decision-making power to divorce a woman if she behaved contrary to his decision. In addition to having the power to divorce, it was also revealed that a

¹⁴²Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity held in Rofati village on 2nd August 2012.

¹⁴³Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity held in Rofati village on 2nd August 2012.

strong decision, such as involving a woman in contesting for leadership positions had to be made by a man especially for married women.

This has brought a problem to many women for not showing up in contesting for leadership position for instance, because they must seek for permission from their spouses which most of men do not want as they believe that once their wives join politics they end up misbehaving¹⁴⁴.

This was supported in an interview discussion with a man in Rofati village who felt he could not allow his wife to stand and contest for any post because doing so would result in the man doing domestic activities.

You want me to start cooking and nursing children? This is because if I allow my wife to become a councillor and start moving to Kondoa¹⁴⁵, then I will be at home and do the cooking, I said no¹⁴⁶.

Also, during focus group discussions held in Rofati Village it was revealed that men interviewed had reservations about allowing their spouses to participate in governance activities, especially those activities which required women to move away from home. This also affected women's decisions to participate in public activities. During the same focus group discussions women revealed that they had almost no decision to make apart from personal ones such as going to hospital, buying cloth they wanted as well as deciding on foods to be served in a household. Men had all the powers to make decisions including determining the number of children as well as naming of a child which was done by a man. Moreover, men dominated decision-making on crop ownership despite the fact that the women spent most of their time in farming, they had to seek permission to sell farm produce. Men had exclusive power to sell farm produce without consulting their spouses, something which the women did not have and reported not being happy about it as indicated in the following quotation:

¹⁴⁴Personal interview with the Ward Councilor, held in Gwandi ward on 3rd August 2012.

¹⁴⁵The District headquarters located about two hours' drive by bus from Rofati village headquarters. Movement to the district headquarters was not easy because of limited transport facility. There was only one bus which left Rofati Village at around 7.00 am to Kondoa and came back to Rofati at around 6.00pm. The bus was the only liable means of transport between Rofati and Kondoa. This means that a person going to the District Headquarters had to spend a whole day or sometime a night before coming back to Rofati.

¹⁴⁶Personal interview with a man named Mr. Onesmo, held in Rofati village on 2nd August 2012.

I am not happy with the way my husband is doing. Sometimes he receives some money from people and promises to give them some maize in exchange. He comes home with a business man whom he got money from and starts giving him maize, without informing me. When I ask, he becomes angry and arrogant to me¹⁴⁷

Similarly, very often men discouraged women from participating in public activities and sometimes men openly prohibited their spouses from becoming involved in any public activities. Some men could allow their spouses to attend meetings and participate in campaign meetings but not to stand for leadership positions because by so doing they would expose their wives to the general public and the wives may become arrogant as confirmed in the following quotation:

I wanted to contest for a ward councillor post; however my husband did not allow me to participate in politics. Generally, it is believed that when women become leaders, they also become big headed and this is what my husband fears most¹⁴⁸.

In a key informant interview with Ward Councilor for Gwandi, I found that some women were threatened with divorce because of their intention to stand for leadership positions in Gwandi and as a result the majority of them withdrew candidacies. This suggests that at a household level men were critical actors in decision-making at the same time women were reduced to implementers of men's decisions. Women's decisions were limited to deciding what type of food to be served for lunch or dinner, buying cloth as well as choosing a friend. These decisions can be made by a woman without consulting or seeking consent from a man. Similarly, a woman can start her own small business such as selling alcohol, to raise extra income but such businesses should also receive the man's consent. This was very common among married women but less so among unmarried women, widows and the aged who had liberty to move away from home and attend a meeting without men's interference.

At community level, power relations favoured men. Women had little or no decision-making power and required men's permission for everything. Most of decision-making organs in the community were dominated by men despite the fact that women outnumbered men in all villages studied. For instance, men dominated all nominations for leadership positions including nominations for women who contested through affirmative action. This implies that even the women who were nominated to be women representatives were influenced by men.

¹⁴⁷Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity, held in Rofati Village on 7th August 2012.

¹⁴⁸Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity, held in Gwandi village on 7th August 2012.

This might suggest that women participation is simply a means of demonstrating that gender equality in governance was maintained numerically. The actual fact is that women's participation in governance and gender equality are paid lip service to. This is confirmed by Schanke and Lange (2008) who observed that women lack decision-making powers to the extent that a wife cannot make the decision even to sell a chicken in the absence of a husband as all properties at home including the wife herself belong to the husband. This challenges the government's vision of 50/50 women's representation so as to enhance women's participation in governance. I argue that, increasing the percentage may be important to enhance women's participation but power relations between men and women may undermine the aim.

4.3.2.4 Access to information

I found that non-pastoral women experienced fewer problems regarding access to information to participate in public activities than pastoral women. During observations I noted that most of non-pastoral women's residences were easily accessible by road as well as telephone thus dissemination of information was possible. Further, many political parties, government leaders, government circulars as well as radio broadcasting transmissions reached the non-pastoralists' residences.

I also found that political parties were sources of information as some of them were dominant in the study area and had offices operating in the villages with flags flying in some houses. The political parties were used as a means to disseminate information to not only women but the public in general especially during the time close to elections as noted in the following quotation:

We always obtain information about the party through our UWT¹⁴⁹ branch and sometimes when I go to Mrijo for my own business. In case, I get some information, then I come to tell my friends¹⁵⁰.

During that time, political parties strived to reach citizens and sensitize them to participate in the electoral process such as voter registration, attendance to campaign meetings and voting which influenced their participation in electoral processes. For instance, during focus group discussions in Olboloti Village the women indicated that they registered to vote and voted

¹⁴⁹Is the Swahili Acronym for Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania, Literary means Women Organisation of Tanzania. This is a CCM owned organisation.

¹⁵⁰Personal interview with a woman named Mama Ally held in Magasa village on 11th July 2012.

because of the various sensitizations and campaigns which were carried out by the parties before the elections.

I also observed that political parties used advertisements, posters and signs which carried party slogans or candidates contesting for various posts and also to disseminate information on elections. For instance, while the then ruling Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) used a slogan “choose CCM, choose Kikwete”, CHADEMA was using “people’s power” slogan with a sign of a two-finger salute as their main party identity. These party slogans attracted many people to various public forums to listen to campaign rallies.¹⁵¹ The slogans also became an effective means of disseminating information on how and why people should participate in electoral process. Some women reported that they accessed election information through CCM women Organization.

Similarly, most of the interviewees confirmed that ward councilors and other government officials were good sources of information that the women heavily depended on. It was revealed that very often the leaders disseminated information about various programmes in the village through special messengers to people at the grassroots as noted in the remark by the village Chairperson of Magasa Village.

*In case you want to succeed in your work about women issues the right person to accompany you is Mr. Ally. He is very famous to women in this village because we have been engaging him in all sensitizations related to women and children such as mother child vaccination campaign as well as mosquito net distribution. Mr. Ally is trusted by women as well as men.*¹⁵²

In an interview with the Mrijo Ward Councilor, I was informed that he had had several meetings with his constituents in his ward during which he used the opportunity to inform the people about council resolutions as well as general government directives such as sensitization to the national census which was carried out in August 2012. Similar observations were made in Gwandi ward when the Ward Councilor had arranged for meetings in all villages in the ward during which the councilor used the opportunity to thank people for voting him into the post and informed them of the first council meeting resolutions which included an increase in secondary school teachers as well as medical staff in the ward. The councillor also informed his constituents about the by-law restricting habits by pastoralists to let their livestock pass on the road as they were damaging the road. The fact that most of the villages in Kondoa were located very far from the council headquarters with poor

¹⁵¹The rallies were usually preceded by a van with amplified speakers announcing the location and objective of a meeting.

¹⁵²Personal remark by Village Chairperson of Magasa village given on 30th August 2012.

communication networks indicated that access to information from the council was mainly through face to face interaction. Therefore, leaders including ward councilors were reliable sources of information from the council and frequently had to travel to the Council headquarters.

Radio communication was also reported as an influence on women's participation, particularly the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) radio station. The radio station was also a source of information for sensitizing people to participate in public activities. Some women interviewed indicated that they participated in electoral processes, registration campaigning, voting as well as national census campaigns because they received information from the radio. During my stay in the field, I observed that the TBC radio station had clear transmission signals especially after 7 pm and some women were keen to listen to the 8 pm news bulletin programme. During that time, a few men gathered in a certain house where a radio facility was available to listen to the news bulletin.

I also observed that a whistle or a drum was used as a mode of calling for a meeting. It was observed in Gwandi Village that at around 8 pm, a day before the meeting, a whistle was blown followed by a drum beat and announcement of a call for a meeting. This was a common method used to disseminate information because a sound at night travels fast and farther than during the day. While this method was commonly used in the villages, during focus group discussions one of the participants complained of hearing no calls of meetings as she said:

We normally don't hear calls for meeting, we only realize two or three days after a meeting has been held¹⁵³.

4.3.2.5 Interest

Our findings indicated that non-pastoral women were interested in politics as indicated in the following responses:

It is high time now we have women leaders. Not all the time men ruling. We can also become good leaders like men. Very often men think that we cannot rule. The idea is outdated because this time we have a female speaker for the National Assembly. In the 2015 election I promise that I will contest for a Ward Councilor through CCM and not any other political party¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵³Focus Group Discussion held in Rofati village on 17th October 2011.

¹⁵⁴Personal interview with a woman named Mama Latifa, held in Magasa village on 29th August 2012.

Another respondent had this to say:

I am not interested in becoming a leader, but I am interested in attending meetings in here in the village because I get information about government programmes such as vaccination for my children¹⁵⁵.

In an interview with the Ward Councilor for Gwandi Ward, the following was noted:

I am proud to be a counselor so as to serve not only women but all people in the ward and argue my fellow women to come up and contest for various leadership positions. It is not necessary that every women should contest for the post I have, but they can start with a member of groups within a political party or any group so that slowly one develop interest to contest for bigger posts.¹⁵⁶

During Focus Group Discussions in Magasa, all participants confirmed that they were interested in attending meetings and vying for leadership positions but they lacked facilitation. Similarly in a Focus Group Discussion in Olboloti, participants noted that generally women have an interest in participation in public matters but they were constrained by numerous responsibilities that they bear as women. Conversely, during interviews some women indicated a negative feeling towards those women who had an interest in participating in public activities, labeling them irresponsible women.

You know sir, some women are busy attending meetings or campaign meetings everywhere while leaving their children to suffer. I can not to go to a campaign meeting and leave my children to cook for my husband. This is improper, perhaps one should do so when her children are grown up or is not married¹⁵⁷.

Nevertheless, as I indicated in the opening statement of this section that, most women had interest in getting involved in governance and this was consistently expressed by women interviewed. Women's interest in participation in governance has been growing across the globe, Africa and Tanzania as reflected in the increase in the number of women participating in governance (IDEA, 2012; URT; 2010). Nevertheless, a critical analysis of women's interest in participation in governance is limited.

4.3.2.6 Incentives

¹⁵⁵Personal Interview with a woman named Mama Sadiki, held in Rofati village on 7th August 2011.

¹⁵⁶Personal interview with the Ward Councilor for Gwandi, held on 10th September 2010.

¹⁵⁷Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity, held in Gwandi village on 7th August 2011.

The study findings showed that most non-pastoral women received incentives and others anticipated incentives which influenced their participation in governance. This was confirmed during interviews that some women were bribed to vote and others were bribed not to vote as shown in the following quotation:

Some campaigning candidates for the MP were buying voters registration cards from voters for Tsh. 5000 and gave them back to the voters after the election so as to make sure that the voters did not vote. In so doing, some people did not vote because they had no voter's registration card after making it on bond for Tsh. 5000. I was not approached but if I had such an opportunity I could ¹⁵⁸.

One thing to worth noting here is that poverty level especially in rural areas of Tanzania is high particularly amongst women. As a result, the majority of these women can easily be bribed or convinced by such 5000 Tanzania shillings, equivalent to 2.5 Euros, a pittance to buy an individual's decision. Likewise, it was also reported that the women were bribed during meetings by being given money so that they would raise their hands during meetings and speak in favor of those who gave them the money as confirmed in the following interview:

I don't see any importance of attending meetings in the village. Sometimes you may go to the meeting and raise your hand to contribute but you will not be picked, the same faces are picked to contribute and they contribute on their favour because they have been given "tea"¹⁵⁹. They don't choose some of us because they know that we will speak the truth¹⁶⁰.

In some cases it was reported that some women participated in governance without getting or expecting to get incentives and considered participation in public activities as an obligation which as citizens they were obliged to fulfill. For instance, a ward councilor for Gwandi ward, attested that very often there had been a misconception from general public that, people pursue power because of incentives they anticipate getting. The councilor emphasized that the reality of the matter was different from what the general public thought about. In view of that the councilor had this to say:

I normally spend more than I get from the post of a counselor and sometimes I have to offer my energy and dedicate myself to the job without getting anything in return. This is because sometimes people come to my house at night seeking for assistance like

¹⁵⁸Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity, held in Rofati village on 8th August 2011.

¹⁵⁹"Tea" is a term used to mean or synonymous with corruption.

¹⁶⁰Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity, held in Rofati village on 8th August 2011.

*money to take a child to hospital. I provide them some money which sometimes I never get it back*¹⁶¹.

Similarly, the majority of women interviewed showed that they were driven by interest and not incentives to attend campaign meetings as well as village meetings. While others stated that they voted because they felt that they had an obligation to vote. These results contradict the incentives theory which advocates that people participate in governance because of the incentives they get or anticipate receiving. Probably the civic voluntarism approach to participation is in line with the results as it explains that people's interest is the driving force to determining their participation in decision-making. Even though the women indicated that they participated in governance without any kind of outside incentives, very often the women were observed receiving incentives sometimes without their knowledge. For example, during campaign time the women received dresses and hats printed in images of the campaigning candidate, mostly CCM presidential and parliamentary candidates. Likewise, some people were observed being plied with alcohol, rice from candidates for the ward council position as a campaigning strategy which suggests that indirectly they were given incentives to campaign and vote. During interviews some women indicated that they voted for the ruling party, CCM because of the promise of better life for all Tanzanians which was one of the CCM strategies. Similarly, most of the women interviewed indicated that they had financial constraints which limited their desire to vie for a leadership position.

*These days everything is money, you need money to travel to Kondoa and get the form and above all you need money to give to voters so that they vote you in power. Nobody will be ready to vote for you without getting money*¹⁶².

This corresponds with findings by Johnson and Mosha (2004) who found that all processes of vying for leadership positions in Tanzania required a great deal of resources (money) which the majority of women especially from rural areas did not possess. For instance, many of the women candidates running on opposition party tickets had serious financial constraints which forced them to leave the process of contesting in the 2000 elections. This shows that while on the one hand women were able to participate in decision-making without incentives, analysis on the other hand indicates that incentives were one of the determining factors behind women's participation in decision-making. This challenges the critical actor's approach that

¹⁶¹Personal interview with the Ward Councilor for Gwandi, held in Gwandi on 9th August 2011.

¹⁶²Personal interview with a woman named Mama Abduni, held Mrijo Ward on 5th July 2012.

confines its understanding of women's participation by focusing on what specific actors do (Childs and Krook, 2009).

4.3.2.7 Influence of the Kiswahili language in non-pastoral women's participation

Kiswahili was observed not to be a problem at all to non-pastoralist women's participation in governance as the majority of the women were able to speak and understand the language. Throughout the study, I observed that non-pastoral women were fluent in Kiswahili to the extent that sometimes they served as translators to pastoral women who most of the time experienced difficulties in understanding and using the language. I observed the women using the Kiswahili language in formal communications such as meetings as well as in informal conversations which. I noted that during interviews none of the women failed to understand the questions I asked and very often the women responded without problem. Equally, during focus group discussions, the women were confident using the language. It should however be noted that Kiswahili is widely spoken, an official language in Tanzania and the language of instruction in primary schools. Habwe (2009) noted that unlike other countries in East Africa, Tanzania has successfully managed to use Kiswahili as a national mobilizing language in making political decisions. Anyhow, in recent decades Tanzania has embraced capitalism and globalization, which increased the emphasis on using English rather than Kiswahili even in public offices. For instance I observed that some government circulars posted on notice boards at the District and Ward headquarters were in English while the majority of the public do not know the language. Moreover, I observed some councilors, mainly men, using English words during the full council meetings when they wanted to stress a point.

Comparative results show that incentives have a higher influence in determining non-pastoral women's participation in governance than social norms, power relations, gender stereotypes, access to information and the Kiswahili language. This is because incentives, mainly monetary incentives have the power to override factors such as social norms, power relations or gender stereotypes. For instance, it is evident that the women were bribed to vote or campaign for a particular candidate. This is contrary to influence of other factors such as social norms or gender stereotypes which were reported to be diminishing and the Kiswahili language as well as access to information which were not a problem at all to most of non-pastoral women.

Section 4.3.3 Effects of non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

In the previous section, we explored about the question of why non-pastoral women participated in decentralized local governance in the way that they did. The focus in this section will be on the effects of non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance. The same variables and sub questions which were used to gather data in section 4.1.3 will also be used in this section to obtain information that will contribute to answering the third research question: what are the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance?

4.3.3.1 Setting of agenda

Setting of agenda is one of the prime activities in governance as the agenda sets the framework of issues to be discussed in a particular meeting and it greatly contributes to determining outcomes of the decisions made. Therefore, non-pastoral women's participation in decision-making was assumed to have effect in the setting of agenda that would reflect women's interests, consequently affecting the decision-making process as whole. However, results did not match the assumptions. Non-pastoral women's participation in governance had little effect on agenda setting. Men dominated the process and sometimes by-passed women which limited the effects of the women's participation in the setting of an agenda. This was revealed during interviews as follows:

Respondent 1:

Men are always selfish, when they find a meeting has money, they will never involve women but in case a meeting does not have money you will find them calling us. For instance, there was a seminar about child vaccination; they only discussed themselves without involving us because it had some money. However, in activities such as looking for truant pupils, that is when they involve us because it has no money in it¹⁶³.

Respondent 2:

I don't know who sets the agenda and when the agenda was set. They usually call for a meeting without informing us what is going to be said¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶³Personal interview with a woman named Mama Abdala, held in Olboloti village on 29th August 2012.

¹⁶⁴Personal interview with a woman named Mama Usna from Rofati Village, held in Kondoa district headquarters on 14th August 2012.

Respondent 3:

How can I involve myself in setting of agenda while I am not educated? Maybe those who are educated can know setting of agenda¹⁶⁵.

Respondent 4:

We have a problem with our leaders in this village, sometimes we agree on what to discuss, but when it comes to the meeting you find them discussing something different. I sometimes echo it during meetings, but they don't consider me maybe because I am a woman!¹⁶⁶.

The above responses suggest that women were not empowered to participate in setting the agenda. However, in an interview with a Mrijo ward councilor, I noted that women's participation in decision-making had an effect on the District Council as evidenced in the following quotation:

Being women councilors, we defended to ensure that a standard policy budget allocation in Council is maintained based on gender proportions¹⁶⁷.

It should however be noted that propositional budget allocation was a standard national policy which all local governments had to adhere to. Therefore, it required little or no effort for the councilor to claim that they had an influence on the proposition of gender budget allocation. Likewise, the fact that the proportional budget allocation agenda which the women claim to defend existed as a policy in all the councils in Tanzania suggests that there was insignificant impact on women's participation in decision-making as the women simply maintained an agenda that was already in existence.

Anyhow, I observed that in most of decision-making organs, the agenda setting followed a standard procedure over which most of the women had little influence. For example, as indicated earlier in this chapter the agendas for the District Council were generated from villages and Wards. Villages through Village Assembly and Village Council meetings generated agendas which were tabled at the Ward Development Committee before being presented to the council to become the District Council's agenda. Therefore as noted earlier,

¹⁶⁵Personal interview with a woman named Kuruthum, held in Gwandi village on 11th July 2012.

¹⁶⁶Personal interview with Ward Councilor (special seat) Gwandi ward, held in Gwandi village on 11th July 2012.

¹⁶⁷Personal interview with Ward Councilor for Mrijo ward, held in Mrijo on 28th August 2012.

since the women's participation in the lower level decision-making organs was limited, this affected the district council agenda as well.

Similarly, I observed that the women representatives on the District Council were not vocal enough to propose agenda points which were pro-women, while others proposed agenda points which were general and not specific to women's interests. Most of the women councilors concentrated on party politics such as struggles between the opposition and ruling party without concentrating on pertinent issues about women. Similar results were found by Kumari and Dubey (1994) that women MPs also participated rather little in terms of introducing bills or in parliamentary debates. Similarly, Agarwal (2010) found that few women MPs in the Sabha had motioned a single private member's bill, or raised an issue concerning women. This suggests that women's representatives did not represent women. This finding does not correspond to the literature that shows that women representatives are mirrors of represented women (Pitkin, 1967).

However, in another situation, I observed few women representatives on the District Council proposing agenda points related to women affairs which was about bringing men who were responsible for impregnating schoolgirls to book. These few women representatives experienced difficulties in having their agenda presented for discussion. Such difficulties included mockery from men as well as laughter indicating that they were seen as presenting a weak agenda point. These results match well with the literature that argues for substantive representation of women in which representatives are able to speak for represented (Pitkin, 1967; Childs and Krook, 2009).

During the same full district council meeting, I observed a woman councilor complaining that she had presented her agenda point to the meeting but it was not tabled because the point had been raised by a woman. However, it came to light during the meeting that the woman councilor had presented the agenda point late to the council hence it could not be presented. Procedurally, any agenda item had to be submitted to the council at least two weeks before the council meeting, the procedure that the woman councilor did not adhere to. Nevertheless, overall women's participation in setting of agenda was low which suggested the women's participation had little impact on the District Council which was the highest decision-making organ in the district.

In Village Assembly meetings, observations indicated that agendas for meetings were prepared by the village executive officers in consultation with the Village Chairperson. However, the agenda for the Village Assembly meetings were not as formal as the District Council and Village Council meetings. Most of the agendas in the Village Assembly were not formally written and presented as was the case in the council meetings. Setting of agenda in the Assembly was flexible to the extent that any member of the assembly could raise his or her hand and present an issue during the assembly. Despite this flexibility, it was observed that most women did not propose agenda points in the meetings while men were seen to frequently raise their hands and proposing agenda points or contribute to an agenda. This suggested that women's effects in setting of agenda was minimal.

This is contrary to what Andrews (2007) noted that women in the political arena change the nature of the political agenda itself. The women's participation according to Powley (2008) would bring questions concerning reproductive health and choice, nutrition, equality in education, employment opportunities and circumstances. Similarly, women's participation in spheres of power would generate changes in the perceptions with respect to men's and women's roles in society and the division of work, in speech, in how women are regarded and in the way political institutions work. All these could not be attained as the women's participation in decision did not go hand in hand with the setting of agendas.

In some instances, agendas in a village or district council originated from burning issues in a particular time and place. Therefore, where a citizen of a village felt that there was an issue that required public attention or clarification he or she would raise her concern and request it to be discussed. However, observation indicated that much as the women had current issues on which they wanted clarification, the women feared to raise such issues as some of them were sensitive to invading people's interests. In Magasa village for instance, information was spread in the village that the village chairman and executive colluded with unknown people and granted permission to the people to do lumbering activities in the village forest without the villagers' awareness. Similarly, in Gwandi village, one of the burning issues in one of the Village Assemblies was that of livestock trespassing on some people's farming plots and the arrogance of pastoralists towards non-pastoralists over the livestock trespassing. These agenda were contentious and dominated discussions in the meetings but were not directly related to women's interests. I observed that the women were knowledgeable and concerned about the

various issues within their localities but most of them did not dare to present them in the Assemblies.

Very often it was men and not women who took up the issues and presented them as agenda points in Village Assembly meetings. The women were observed to keenly follow the issues that the men were bitterly arguing over. This provided an indication that women were always participating behind the men thus suggesting that their effects in participation was negligible unless through men. Therefore, the results contradict the theoretical assumption that women's participation in decentralized local governance has an effect on the setting of agenda and Grey's (2006) belief that women politicians have a substantive effect on political decision-making. Goetz (2009) concludes that women's participation in decision-making will make no difference as long as women remain supporters of what men propose. This is reinforced by Ostergaard's argument that women's discrimination problems emanate from their relations with men (Ostergaard, 1992).

4.3.3.2 Change in priorities

When looking at non-pastoral women's participation in decision-making in relation to changes in priorities, our results revealed that non-pastoral women had their own priorities which they wished to be taken into account when decisions were made at different levels of governance. The women disclosed that among their priorities was the achievement of economic empowerment so that they could get away from male dominance. The women indicated that most of them were economically weak, which contributed to inactive participation in public activities such as vying for leadership positions. For instance, during focus group discussions participants agreed that they had to depend on men for their daily livelihood as men controlled resources, therefore were more powerful than women. In this regard, the women wanted economic facilitation from the government so that they would become less economically dependent which would also influence the women's political empowerment. The women elaborated that the government needs to facilitate the women through establishing income generating activities, that would enable them generate money and freely spend the money without men's interference.

Nonetheless, the women indicated that they had their own priorities, but results showed that they did not present these priorities in decision-making forums. This contrasts with the

assumption of the study that since women and men prioritize issues differently, and the presence of women in governance would automatically result in change of priorities (Phillips, 1995). Critical examination of the results shows that the women's priorities remained mainly in the form of ideas that were not translated into realities. This again challenges Pitkin's idea that representatives stand for the represented (Pitkin, 1967).

Likewise, most of the priorities implemented in the villages were flowing top down, in the sense that it was the central government that was dictating priorities in the form of policies or party manifestos. This suggests that the priorities did not reflect specific group interests within a locality, but were general in nature. For instance, most of the priorities in the villages centered on the provision of water, education and health which were general and cross-cutting issues as well as a paradigm to all campaigning parties and decision-making organs. However, during interviews in addition to acknowledging the need for water, education and health, women were concerned about some men's behavior of marrying young girls with a considerable age difference between the two. This suggests that Tanzania's claim to have decentralized local governance seems to exist on paper rather than in reality as the central government continued to dictate priorities to local authorities. This is in line with Chaliga (2008) who challenged decentralized local governance in Tanzania as being on the one hand the central government that takes power to the people, on the other hand the central government takes back some of these power. As a result the specific priorities of different groups of people in a society are left out. However, while the state seemed to interfere in setting priorities within localities, women did have the chance to have their priorities included in the decision-making organs as a decentralized local governance encouraged bottom up approaches in the setting of priorities, but the women did not use the opportunity.

During interviews with the District Executive Director, it was revealed that priorities in the district were set by the councilors after consulting their voters, priorities which were eventually brought before the council for approval. According to the director, if the women had their priorities, they were supposed to bring them through their representatives in the villages and wards all the way up the District Council. Most of the women did not have their priorities spelled out in the lower levels of decision-making in the district, therefore few of their concerns were incorporated in the priorities of the district council. For instance, the government's priority was to ensure that at least in every ward there should be a ward secondary school.

However, our analysis indicated that the priorities had not been translated into a gendered perspective as most of the ward secondary schools had no students' dormitories, leading into a situation whereby students rent houses in villages around the schools. In such a situation female students were at very high risk of getting pregnant while at school which eventually resulted in increased dropout rates among the female students. From a substantive women representation perspective women should have taken female students' dropout as a priority within decentralized local governance system which required specific measures to stop the problem. Nevertheless this did not happen to women as theoretically assumed. This raises an intriguing dilemma for scholars who claim that women representatives will look after the interests of women.

4.3.3.3 Decision on different domains

As with the case of pastoral women, non-pastoral women issues revolved around social, economic and political domains. Socially the women were concerned with a fight against the practice of female circumcision and early marriage which was dominant among ethnic groups such as the Sandawi, Bargaic and the Maasai. During Village Assembly meetings as well in the District Council meetings non-pastoral women including the women representatives raised concerns about these issues. In a Village Assembly meeting in Olboloti a non-pastoral woman wanted to know what the village planned to do to end the practice of female circumcision. The matter however was referred to the social welfare committee to be dealt with. However, it was confirmed during interviews that female circumcision was still a challenge to most of the societies as the circumcision was done under secrecy and the practice was part of people's culture which the women themselves had not agreed with.

During interviews, I found that women's participation in decentralized local governance had managed to bring about changes in the fight against early marriage. The practice was common especially among pastoral societies. It was common for instance to find a young girl (20 years old) getting married to an old man (85 years old). This age difference was so big that women saw it as unfair and shameful as stated by one of the women councilors in the following quotation.

First of all we found it shameful for such an old man to marry a girl who is almost his granddaughter; we said 'no' that tendency should not be entertained. Secondly, we saw it

unfair to the girl herself to get married to such an old man who in most cases was not of the choice to the girl but due to the will of her father the girl was seen entering into the trap by marrying an old man. We want these girls to go to school and get educated¹⁶⁸.

The fight against early marriage as well as the huge age difference in marriage has to a great extent been minimized. The fight was reinforced by the introduction of ward secondary schools in which almost all girls who complete primary school, continue their education. Similarly, a penalty system including men's imprisonment had also been imposed on men who were caught having sexual affairs with young girls especially school going girls.

Apart from these notable achievements in social domains, the women expressed serious concern in economic sectors. They experienced economic hardship and it was their wish to get economic empowerment so that they could get away from male domination.

The only reason why men dominate us is because we are not economically powerful. Thus we depend on men as our source of income even for small amount of money to buy salt. This is a big challenge to women and it has never been resolved. I tried to present it to the District Council requesting for money so that we organize credit union for women, but it could not work because there was no funds set in the budget¹⁶⁹.

During focus group discussions it was revealed that some men discouraged their wives from having economic power based on the fear that they will become more powerful than men. Some men do not like to see their wives prosper and where the attempt is made, they find reasons to discourage them. For instance, there was a move in Gwandi and Olboloti villages to organize women in small groups so that they could access loans to start income generating groups which enabled the women to gain some money. Equally, through the groups, women were informed about various income generating activities such as self-employment, starting their small business which helped the women to generate income for themselves and their families. Very few men supported the move, in fact the majority of the men discouraged their wives on the view that it caused the women to be away from home and it had no tangible benefits. Similarly, the result indicated that men dominated decision-making and most of the time challenged women who wanted to have more independence from men, to the extent that the women were labeled as notorious in their societies. During an interview with one non-pastoral woman the following was revealed:

¹⁶⁸Personal interview with a woman named Mama Erasto, held in Rofati village on 23rd July 2012.

¹⁶⁹Personal interview with the Gwandi Ward Councilor (Special seat), held in Gwandi on 11th July 2012.

I will not forget what happened in the last election. During the campaign we were divided into two major camps: Those who were supporting CCM and CHADEMA. I supported one camp. This has made me until today an enemy of the village chairman and others are labeling me as I am boastful woman because I was making campaign for someone who was against the chairman's wing.¹⁷⁰

Nevertheless it was reported that the dominance over women in decision-making had been slowly changing due to the increase in women's awareness of their rights to the extent that women can sometimes uphold their interests within the male dominated sphere as summarized in the following quotation.

I have always been encouraging women to do away with quota seats, come up and contest of constituents' posts like men. I am happy the women's awareness about their participation in politics is increasing and I am sure that in the next election more women will come up and contest in the constituent seats.¹⁷¹

This quotation denotes that women still believe in the power of numbers though in different contexts (constituency seats against women quota seats). That notwithstanding, analysis of the results show that the problem of women's participation in governance went beyond numbers. Women were facing cultural and gender stereotypes that were obstacles to women having an impact on decisions in different domains. In this regard, analysis of the results contradict the assumption that there is a linear relationship between numbers of women participating in governance and outcomes (Childs and Krook, 2009; Pant, 2007; Charlick, 2001).

4.3.3.4 Different outcomes to service delivery

Findings in this study showed that even though the women participated in various governance activities such as electoral process as well as attending meetings including village assembly meetings, there were limited different outcomes to service delivery. This is however contrary to the belief that women are seen not only as standing for but also acting for women's concerns (Pitkin, 1967). Similarly, the results contradict Childs' idea that women play a crucial role in advancing women's policy concerns (Childs, 2006a; 2006 b). Moreover, the

¹⁷⁰Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity held in Gwandi village on 11th July 2012.

¹⁷¹Personal interview with Hon. Z. Mhita, MP for Kondoa held in Kondoa on 12th August 2010.

results are contrary to what Beall (2007) and later on Powely (2008) confirmed that local politics could be very interesting to women as they are well acquainted with their community and are major users of services such as water, electricity, waste disposal, health clinics and other social services.

According to the results, determining the availability and location of social services was initiated at the village level thereafter the proposal was sent to the council for approval depending on the available funds in a particular year. In some instances, service delivery was determined by a donor to that service, however after consulting/involving people in that locality on their preference about the services they wanted. This therefore depended on who takes the lion's share in the decision-making about the types of service and the location of the service. As noted earlier in section 4.3.1 of this thesis non-pastoral women's participation in influencing decision was minimal, in the sense that men had control over the decisions made in the village community. This has been inhibiting women's ability to influence change in service delivery. For instance, men were concerned about the general availability of water, education and health, but they did not give attention to services used mainly by women.

During fieldwork I observed that there were inadequate health facilities, water as well as electricity services in most of the study area. On the extreme side, services related to maternal and child health were not only inadequate but also poorly provided. Critical cases were observed where there was no place for maternal and child health in Magasa, and Rofati villages at the same time clinic for expectant mothers in Magasa was located in the village office building on a bed which had no mattress. The building was very unhygienic as it had a muddy floor.

Similarly, there was no proper place for child clinic services in Magasa village. The service was delivered under a tree outside the village office building by medical personnel who travelled from a health center located about 15 km from Magasa village. The medical personnel made an arrangement to visit the villages once a month to conduct clinic services for children and expectant mothers. The arrangement was inconvenient for the medical personnel who had to carry medicine in a container using a motorbike, which was not ideal as some of the medicines were supposed to be stored at a cool temperature. Equally, the monthly arrangement of attending children and mothers' clinics was also risky for the mothers

(especially pregnant mothers) when a delivery complication emerged, sometimes at night and required immediate attention.

During interviews women expressed concern over the poor services provided but they also acknowledged that they did nothing to influence change or improve the services as noted in the following:

*We have nothing to do, this is our way of life. Our men have advantage of moving around and get treated where they go, but we cannot move around with our children on our back. If you try to complain to leaders they will label you as troublesome. We do have our leaders but I don't know what are they doing, most of them have a lot of words during campaign but when they get in power they forget what they promise. This is not good...*¹⁷²

These results confirm Goetz's observation that women representatives hardly ever represent women's interests and no empirical evidence exists that decentralisation has been beneficial to women (Goetz, 2009).

As in the case with pastoral women, non-pastoral women had a tendency of sidelining themselves from being responsible for making changes in services at the same time expecting the government to be responsible for service delivery. This suggests that the ideal of devolving state power to local people so as give them autonomy to plan and determine the outcomes of services they want is immaterial as far as women are concerned. From the results we see a mismatch between what the government advocates and women's expectations. On the one hand, the government devolves decision-making power anticipating that people especially the marginalized groups would participate and bring in new ideas and suggestions in governance. On the other hand, women expect and wait for service delivery from the government.

During focus group discussions in Magasa Village, I noted that women had to wake up at around 4 am to fetch water from wells which became very risky to the women. As if that is not enough, in some instances cows and goats were sharing the same wells which the women used for water for washing and general cleanliness and sometimes drinking. This suggests that change in service delivery was yet to be realized despite women participating in decision-making as well as having women representatives in decision-making.

¹⁷²Personal interview with a woman who preferred anonymity, held in Olboloti village on 5th July 2012.

Apart of the poor supply of water, three out of four villages I studied had no supply of electricity, at the same time most of the respondents had given up hope of getting such a supply. During focus group discussions in Gwandi Village, participants said that they did not dream about having electricity and confirmed that it was not a priority to them except in the dispensary. When I asked participants whether they had made any efforts to request the supply of electricity, none of the participants indicated that she had made any effort to raise such a concern in any public forum.

While women's participation alone may not provide solution to the existing problems in service delivery, analysis of the results indicate that low women's participation in governance provides a connection to the limited outcomes in service delivery. This is due to the fact that women have shown limited resilience and capacity to bring about different outcomes in service delivery.

Comparatively, results demonstrate that non-pastoral women's participation in decisions on different domains are higher than in agenda setting, change in priorities and different outcomes in service delivery. The results show that non-pastoral women were able to fight and influence various decisions relating to women's concerns but they did not have the ability to influence the setting of agendas or change in priorities at different levels of governance. For instance, the fight against female circumcision and early marriages were among the important decisions reached as a consequence of non-pastoral women's participation in governance. Nevertheless, the women's impact did not extend to other so that for example different outcomes in service delivery were not achieved. The women's high impact on decision in different domains were attributed to the fact that there were fewer male or government controls or interests against the different decisions which the women were fighting for. This is unlike priority setting or agenda setting, men or the government are always keen in controlling the setting of such issues. As a result women's impact in setting of agenda as well as change in priorities becomes limited.

4.4 Concluding remarks

Analysis of how pastoral and non-pastoral women participate within decentralized local governance indicates that the women's participation is generally low despite their numerical participation. Moreover, the results indicate that social norms, power relations, incentives, gender stereotypes, individual's interest and access to information determined the women's

participation beyond numbers. All the same, the results also indicate that the women's knowledge of Kiswahili language particularly among pastoral women was also a determining factor for their participation.

Nevertheless, results indicate that, pastoral and non-pastoral women participation in governance has limited effect on agenda setting, bringing changes in priorities, decisions in different domains, or changes in service delivery, as theoretically assumed. Yet, women showed that they had some good ideas which could constitute and form agenda points for various meetings as well as improvements to service delivery. In the same way, the women revealed their priorities, reflecting their needs and interests as women and pastoralist women, which eventually could provide positive input to decisions in different domains and improvements in service delivery. Still, the women's ideas were immaterial as the women did not voice them openly. These results contradict the critical mass standpoint as well as women in development approach, that increase in numbers of women brings affects in governance. In the subsequent chapter, a comparative analysis of the results between pastoral and non-pastoral women case studies is presented.

CHAPTER FIVE

Comparative analysis between the cases; pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented empirical research and discussion about how, why and the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance in two separate case studies. In this chapter I present a comparative analysis of the two cases based on findings of the study. At the end of a comparative analysis for each subheading, I present a table to indicate a summary of comparison between the cases by rating high, moderate or low in each category against the formulated variables. While "high" was rated when results of a particular variable conformed to arguments presented under each subheading, a "moderate" rating was given when results for a variable partly conformed to the argument. When results of a particular variable diverged from the argument, such a case was rated as "low" participation. In this regard the following headings were used to draw a comparison between the cases which eventually determined the rating of women's participation in decentralized local governance as indicated below:

5.2 Comparative analysis of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

In this subsection, I present a comparative analysis of the results of how pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance. As I indicated in the theoretical perspectives and discussions one dominant theoretical claim regarding participation and gender is that women stand and act for women. Based on the claim, a comparative analysis of the results is made.

5.2.1 Pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in voting

In each case study, women's participation in voting was observed and differences were depicted. Results in all the cases showed that women voted without obtaining enough information about candidates or political parties they voted for and did not scrutinize

information about the candidates before they went to vote. This by implication suggests that women participated by merely being present at voting events and therefore indicates inactive participation in voting.

In addition to similarities, results from the case studies also show that there was a remarkable difference regarding participation in voting among pastoral and non-pastoral women. As I pointed out in the results, participation in voting was limited to a numerical level with a high level of male dominance in decision to vote among pastoral women. As far as non-pastoral women's participation in voting is concerned, they experienced similar conditions to those of pastoral women but with varying degrees of freedom of participation to the extent that they could make decisions with less interference from men. For instance, while pastoral women were guided by men as to the candidate or political party they should vote for, such cases never happened among non-pastoral women.

Similarly, there was more limited gender consideration in voting among pastoral women than non-pastoral women. At the same time most pastoral women were not aware of voting along gender lines. The case was different for most non-pastoral women. The women indicated that it is important to have women integrated in decision-making. In view of the above, I rate moderate level of participation in voting for non-pastoral women as the results are partly in line with the argument that women represent women. I equally rate low participation in voting among pastoral women as I find results for pastoral women's participation in voting completely diverge from the argument.

5.2.2 Pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in political campaign

The results indicated that both pastoral and non-pastoral women participated in political campaign activities. Within this, there were similarities and differences in participation in political campaign activities amid the two women categories as indicated below.

Results show that participation in campaign activities was mainly numerical with less qualitative good in representation of women's interests from both case studies. For instance, participation in campaign activities was confined to attendance and listening without openly articulating agenda points to the candidates among the women groups. This is evident in the fact that in all cases, women showed that they had demands or concerns which they wanted

campaigners or political parties to address but could not voice those demands. Similarly, in all cases most women did not hold campaigners or political parties accountable, and at the same time did not take the trouble to obtain information about candidates and scrutinize the information before voting for a candidate.

Nonetheless, results show that there was a complete lack of representation of pastoral women's issues during campaign activities as they were used as tools during the campaign to provide entertainment for campaigners. This was however, not the case with non-pastoral women because most of them attended campaign meetings and some were able to at least be involved in campaign activities, this was especially the case for those who contested special seats reserved for women.

Similarly, the behavior of pastoral women at campaign meetings was greatly determined by men who granted them permission to attend and monitored their behavior. This again was not a serious issue for non-pastoral women's participation in campaign meetings. Most non-pastoral women had liberty to attend campaign meetings or not without necessarily having to be granted men's permission. In these terms results for non-pastoral women's participation follow the argument of the study. Thus, I rate moderate participation in campaign activities among non-pastoral women. I equally rate low participation in campaign activities among pastoral women as the results show no coherence to the argument.

5.2.3 Pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in attendance to meetings

In terms of attendance at public meetings results in both case studies indicate that participation had similar features between pastoral and non-pastoral women. For example, most women from both case studies assumed positions to the rear in meetings and left men to occupy front positions. The sitting arrangements in both cases depicted less interaction of the women with men as well as sidelining women from taking key positions in meetings. Similarly, results show men had the upper hand and in both cases were in a better position than women to make decisions. Moreover, in both cases there was limited contribution or speaking during meetings, women mainly listened to what was being discussed or decided in meetings.

All the same, a case by case analysis shows that while pastoral women assumed a secondary position to men by sitting on the ground while men sat on benches, non-pastoral women had some liberty to sit on the benches but were sitting behind men. Similarly, few pastoral women spoke or contributed to meetings for fear of being stigmatised, beaten by men or labelled as prostitutes. This was slightly different from non-pastoral women's case study as some of them were able to speak and argue in meetings especially when the chairman specifically requested opinions from women over certain matters. Interestingly some non-pastoral women were at least able to raise their voice and speak for women's issues. For example a woman councilor, a non-pastoralist woman in Gwandi village was able to defend an issue of the age difference in marriage. In this issue old men married young women young enough to be their daughters. Such an open contribution was not observed in the results of pastoral women's participation in meetings. In view of that, I rate as moderate the participation in attendance to meetings for non-pastoral women and low for participation in attendance to meetings among pastoral women.

5.2.4 Pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in vying for leadership positions

Participation in vying for leadership positions was noted in both case studies. In each case study women at least attempted to vie for leadership positions. For example while some pastoral women attempted to vie for leadership positions such as chairperson of a women's group, a lot of non-pastoral women vied for different leadership positions at the district or village level. However, there was a clear and wide gap in terms of participation in vying for leadership position between the two women categories. From the results, analysis shows that participation in leadership positions was higher among non-pastoral women than pastoral women as non-pastoral women were able to attain at least critical mass and were able to represent women's concerns. For instance, while a number of non-pastoral women vied for leadership positions such as Member of Parliament, Ward Councilors, very few pastoral women attempted to vie for leadership positions. As a result all reserved seats for women in the District Council were occupied by non-pastoral women and no pastoral woman attained a seat in the Council.

Similarly, whereas most non-pastoral women were aware of their right to contest and others were eager to take part in leadership positions, most pastoral women were not aware of the

right and regarded themselves as passive onlookers. Moreover, circumstances of vying for leadership position were more conducive for non-pastoral women than pastoral women. For example while it was traditionally strictly prohibited for a pastoral woman to become a leader in a community or general public and those women who attempted to do so were seen to violate tradition were punished, such were not reported as affecting non-pastoral women. In view of the above, I rate as high the participation in vying for leadership position for non-pastoral women and low participation on the same to pastoral women.

5.2.5 Pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in public protest

In all cases studied, results indicate that participation in public protest was not an ideal means of participation in governance. While pastoral women perceived it as something unethical, non-pastoral women feared taking part in it. In addition, in both case studies participation in public protest was not a common practice in their localities. Participation in public protest was understood by women in both case studies to mean challenging the government, something that was not condoned by women in either case study. In all the case studies a preference for peaceful means of resolving issues was expressed by women as alternative to participation in public protests.

Likewise, in both case studies, results show participation in public protest had negative connotation and was limited to certain class or group of people. For example whereas pastoral women viewed participation in public protest as something done by the non-pastoralist *Waswahili*¹⁷³, non-pastoral women considered participation in public protest as a common phenomenon for urban and educated people.

Nonetheless, pastoral women had shown a traditional way of organizing themselves to protest against certain bad behaviors and critical matters at least at the pastoral community level. This provided an indication that pastoral women had a sense of solidarity and could protest over certain issues albeit within their community. However, such protest was limited to pastoral communities and did not extend to the general public. In effect there was no active participation in public protest. Results indicate that generally non-pastoral women were seen as disorganized rarely teamed up to challenge the government, irrespective of the multiple demands they might want to make to the government. In this regard I rate as low participation

¹⁷³Is a term used by pastoralists to refer all non-pastoralists who were commonly identified by speaking Kiswahili.

in public protest for both cases, despite some peculiar characteristic observed in the pastoral women case study.

5.2.6 Pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in public debates

Results show that generally participation in public debates was limited as women in both case studies did not actively participate in public debate. This was evidenced in both case studies where women had a tendency of keeping away from public debates and left the matter to be exclusively dealt with by men. For instance, pastoral women confessed that it was new for them to learn that they had the opportunity to participate in debates, at the same time non-pastoral women viewed participation in public debate as a waste of time given the time they needed for their domestic responsibilities.

In each case, results show that women are able to talk or have a discussion in men's absence, however the talks and discussions are mainly about personal affairs rather than political matters. Nonetheless, results indicate that whereas low voices dominated most of pastoral women's talks, non-pastoral women were involved in discussions but mainly related to their affairs as women. Moreover, in the case of pastoral women the lack of participation in debates was linked to women's inability to understand and speak the Kiswahili language. This was however, not mentioned to be a problem among non-pastoral women.

Similarly, participation in public debates was linked to pastoralist cultural traditions which limited pastoral women's involvement in debates. Yet, there were marginal links between cultural traditions and non-pastoral women's participation in public debates. In all, despite having different experiences, I rate as low participation in public debate in both case studies.

5.2.7 Pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decision-making organs

Results in both cases indicate that women were entitled to participate in the decision-making organs either by becoming members of a decision-making organ or through representatives to the decision-making organ. Despite these opportunities, analysis of the results indicates that participation in decision-making was generally limited to the numerical level with few efforts to represent women's concerns. All the same, in both cases women tended to pay less

attention during meetings. For instance, while some pastoral women were feeding their children with milk as the meeting was going on, non-pastoral women talked of matters not connected to the meeting. Moreover, in both case studies women generally kept themselves apart from men and did not interact with men.

Anyhow, participation in decision-making varied among the women's groups. For example, hardly any pastoral women used any of the opportunities or entitlements to present their interests in the District Council. This was not the case with non-pastoral women who at least featured as members of the district council and did attempt to some extent to represent women's concerns in the council.

Similarly, non-pastoral women were more active than pastoral women in Village Assembly meetings. For example non-pastoral women tried to make contributions to the Assembly meetings by raising their hands. This was however not the case with pastoral women who reported feeling not free to participate in the assembly and experienced stringent cultural constraints, consequently becoming inactive participants in.

In terms of participation in the Village Council and committee meetings, results in the two cases indicate that participation was confined to numbers only. Few in either category made contributions to defend women's issues, thus disadvantaging the representation of women's concerns in the council as well as on committees. However, participation in Village Councils was higher for non-pastoral women compared to pastoral women. For example while pastoral women representatives in the Council or committees did not regularly attend nor make contributions in meetings, most of non-pastoral women representatives attended and spoke during meetings. I therefore rate as moderate participation for non-pastoral women, and participation for pastoral women as low.

Table 4: A summary indicating a comparative analysis between Pastoral women and Non- pastoral women's level of participation within decentralized local governance.

Level of participation	Participation indicators						
	Voting	Campaign	Attendance to meetings	Vying for leadership position	Public Protest	Debates	Decision-making organs
High				NPW			
Moderate	NPW	NPW	NPW				NPW
Low	PW	PW	PW	PW	PW	PW	PW
					NPW	NPW	

PW-Pastoral women

NPW-Non-pastoral women

Table 4 above provides a summary of how pastoral women and non-pastoral women participate in decentralized local governance. From the table, it shows that whereas there is high participation among non-pastoral women in vying for leadership positions and moderate participation in voting, attendance at meetings, campaigns and in decision-making organs, there is low participation for the same among pastoral women. In all the cases, women's participation in public protest and debate is low.

5.3 Comparative analysis of dynamics of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

As I indicated in sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.2 of this dissertation various dynamics explain pastoral women and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance. The essence of this section is to compare the dynamics of participation of the two groups of women. The comparison is made based on literature which argues that social norms, power relations, gender stereotypes, incentives, interest and access to information determine women's presence and roles in governance.

5.3.1 Social norms

In both cases, I observed social norms as a prevalent and determining factor for women's presence as well as their roles in decision-making. The norms, in most cases offered restrictions and sometimes defined obligations to women to participate in decision-making.

However, comparative results indicate that social norms were more stringent among pastoral women than non-pastoral women. For instance, the norms bound pastoral women to take a subordinate position to men and there was little flexibility in the norms which limited their freedom of participation as well as the women's interaction with other people. Among non-pastoral women and in some cases men, there were loosely bound norms which resulted in free interaction.

Similarly, results show that pastoralist communities continue to practice and abide by norms such as traditional initiations and payment of bride prize which contribute to intensifying women's role to defend women's interests. This was however not common in non-pastoral women communities and such norms were diminishing so that there was less insistence on the women upholding them. Moreover, whereas norms empowered pastoral men to have total control over pastoral women's decisions including the decision to participate in public affairs and how to participate, non-pastoral women experienced less control from men and had the liberty to participate and sometimes act in support of women's issues. In this regard I rate as high the influence of social norms in determining women's participation in decision-making among pastoral women and the influence of the same among non-pastoral women as low.

5.3.2 Power relation

As with social norms, power relations between men and women were also revealed to be one of the determining factors for the women's participation in decision-making in both cases. In all the cases men had exclusive power to make all important decisions at both household as well as community levels which affected the women's participation in decision-making. For instance, in all the cases it was revealed that a married woman could not make strong decisions such as contesting a leadership position without first getting permission from her spouse. Likewise, women in both cases were considered as secondary to men and men in both cases could make decisions without involving women. For example, a man could decide to sell a product from home without seeking consent from his wife but not the vice versa.

Although the two cases had similar characteristics in explaining power relations as determining factor to women's participation in governance, analysis shows that power relations exerted greater influence on the level of women in governance and representation of women issue among pastoral women than non-pastoral women. This is because in pastoral settings men had absolute power to make decisions in almost all important areas and

sometimes had the power to make decisions on issues which were personal and traditionally reserved for women to decide on. Similarly, at community level pastoral women had to ask or wait for instructions from men in almost every decision they wanted to make as far as participation in public activities was concerned. Such instances were very minimal and diminishing in the non-pastoral women case study. Power relations in non-pastoral societies was not problematic; non-pastoral women were able to make decisions to participate or not participate in public activities as well as personal matters with less interference from men.

In the pastoral setting there are some extreme cases, even in those matters which seemed to be personal and basic such as the decision to go to hospital or choose a partner to marry were decided by men without the involvement of a woman. In non-pastoral women communities however, the women experienced a degree of freedom to decide at least on personal matters. This was attested to by the fact that some non-pastoral women freely married pastoral men while at the same time it was strictly forbidden (and no case was reported) for a pastoral women to marry a non-pastoral man. In view of the above, I rate as high the influence of power relations in determining participation in governance among pastoral women, the influence of the same among non-pastoral women as low.

5.3.3 Gender stereotypes

Gender stereotypes were revealed to be one of the contributing factors towards determining women's participation in decision-making for both cases. Pastoral men and women believed it highly unorthodox for a pastoral woman to become a leader, and non-pastoral women and men believed that women are weaker sex and that a woman's role centers around her domestic activities. Equally, the existence of gender stereotype among women in both case studies, contributed to most of them participating numerically with limited contributions in defending women's concerns and at the same time leaving men to dominate in certain activities.

Nonetheless, a comparative analysis of results indicate that gender stereotyping was a more common and deep rooted factor for determining presence as well as role of women in governance among pastoral women than non-pastoral women. This is due to the fact that there was a stronger belief among pastoral men and women that women are the weaker sex and cannot influence decision-making. Similarly, pastoral women had a stronger belief that

women are weaker than men and cannot participate in certain activities such as vying for leadership positions.

Such line of thinking was less evident among non-pastoral women most of whom were of the opinion that gender equality has to prevail in every aspect of life and that gender inequality was viewed as an outdated thing. However, there were some exceptions within the non-pastoral women case, which retained the notion that women are weak and unable to perform all the jobs that men could do. In view of the above, it was evident that gender stereotypes among pastoral women was on the higher side compared to the one on non-pastoral women which had a negative consequence in representing women's issues in decision-making. This is because pastoral women have in most cases accepted their subordinate status and do not participate in certain activities such as accepting leadership positions, based on the perception that these are male positions. As a result pastoral women did not act for pastoral women in decision-making even in those opportunities that have been positively set for them compared to non-pastoral women. From the above comparative analysis I rate as high the influence of gender stereotypes in determining pastoral women's participation in governance the influence of the same among non-pastoral women as low.

5.3.4 Incentives

In both case studies, results indicated that there was no direct relationship between the women's participation in decision-making and incentives. However, it was evident that women in each case received some kind of incentives in terms of promises and other material things which motivated them to participate in governance. For instance, some pastoral women revealed that they voted because they were promised by the government that it would complete the dispensary building, when voted into power. Likewise, some non-pastoral women received material items such as dresses and hats while others were entertained with alcohol as motivators to attend campaign meetings and vote of a particular candidate and political party. These results suggest that incentives were one of the determining factors for women's participation in decision-making though in neither case was it a direct one. Thus I rate incentives a moderate factor to determining the women's participation in the both case studies.

5.3.5 Interest

In both the case studies, it was indicated that interest in participating or not participating in decision-making was one of the determining factors for women's participation in decentralized local governance. In the two case studies women pointed out that they were driven by the interest to participate in one activity and not another. For instance, while some pastoral women showed that they had an interest in participating in campaign meetings, others indicated having no interest in participating in public debates. Likewise, while pastoral women had an interest in attending meetings as listeners, some non-pastoral women indicated that they had an interest in actively participating in meetings. At the same time others had an interest in vying for leadership positions. However, whereas pastoral women were not open to showing their interest in participation in decision-making because of cultural norms and the distinct environment in which pastoral women live, the majority of non-pastoral women were able to openly show their interest to participate. For instance, some non-pastoral women promised to stand in the 2015 elections while others clearly indicated that they were driven by an interest to participate in governance activities such as voting.

Although results showed that interest was a determining factor for women's participation, analysis of the results indicates that there were some underlying dynamics for the women's participation such as incentives and social norms in addition to interest. Therefore, interest did not account for a major contributing factor towards the women's participation in all case studies. In this regard I rate as moderate the influence of interest in determining participation in governance among pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation.

5.3.6 Access to information

In the two cases studied, access to information was revealed as problematic for pastoral women, but not for non-pastoral women. Results indicate that non-pastoral women received relevant and timely information about meetings as well as different updates regarding various decisions made by governance organs, all of which positively contributed to their participation. In contrast to this, there was limited access to public information among pastoral women which constrained their participation in public activities. For instance, majority of pastoral women admitted that they did not attend meetings because they were not informed about the meetings. The women's limited access to information was associated with other factors such as limited knowledge of the Kiswahili language. Most non-pastoral women were able to speak and understand the language better than pastoral women.

Similarly, while pastoral women's access to information heavily relied on pastoral men who interpreted and translated information especially public communication for them, non-pastoral women enjoyed direct access to information and required no interpretation. The fact that pastoral women depended on men's interpretations and translation of information affected women's access to information as the women received their information second hand, unlike non-pastoral women the majority of whom had firsthand information. Most of pastoral women depended on pastoral men to interpret public information for them as majority of pastoral women did not understand the Kiswahili language. Sometimes pastoral men interpreted only the information which they found good for men and some men completely decided not to provide information to women. Such instances did not exist among non-pastoral women.

On a similar note, it was clearly indicated that residences for non-pastoral women were more accessible compared to those of pastoral women. This meant that non-pastoral women's access to information was higher than that of pastoral women. Consequently, most public activities such as voters' registration, voting, election campaigns, meetings, were conducted in non-pastoral women's residences. This gave non-pastoral women a better chance to participate in various public activities than pastoral women. For instance, pastoral women, indicated that due to distance from their residence to where meetings were taking place they would not attend meetings unless they had something to do in the village, in addition to attending a meeting. As a result some pastoral women were less informed of meetings' resolutions compared to non-pastoral women who were living around premises where meetings were took place thus could easily access information from meetings.

Moreover, the pastoral women's residences did not attract public officials who might disseminate information as most of the residences were remotely located compared to non-pastoral women's residences. As a result non-pastoral women were better informed than pastoral women. In view of the above, I rate as high the influence of access to information in determining pastoral women's participation in governance and the influence of the same among non-pastoral women as low.

Table 5: A summary indicating a comparative analysis of dynamics of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in a decentralized local governance

Level of	Dynamics of participation indicators					
Influence	Social norms	Power relations	Gender stereotype	Incentives	Interest	Access to information
High	PW	PW	PW			PW
Moderate				NPW PW	NPWPW	
Low	NPW	NPW	NPW			NPW

In Table 5 above, a summary of the comparative analysis of results for dynamics of pastoral women and non-pastoral women are presented. The summary indicates that while there is influence of social norms, power relations, gender stereotype and access to information is high in determining pastoral women's participation in governance, the influence of the same among non-pastoral women is low. Moreover, analysis of results for both pastoral women and non-pastoral women indicate that there is a moderate influence of incentives and interests in determining the women's participation in governance.

5.4 Comparative analysis of the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

Under this subsection I present a comparative analysis of results for the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance. The comparative analysis derives from the theoretical argument that I presented in section 1.2 of this thesis, that women in governance bring changes concerning women's issues. As I will demonstrate below, the comparative analysis focuses on pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in setting of agenda, change in priorities, decision on different domains and different outcomes in service delivery.

5.4.1 Setting of the agenda

Results from the two cases indicate that generally the women's participation had little effect on setting of the agenda that could influence policy changes concerning women's issues. Men dominated the setting of agenda and at the same time the majority of the women were not aware that they had the power to influence an agenda as well as procedures for setting of the agenda. As a result there was almost negligible effect of women in governance in both cases.

However, some differences were seen between the two categories of women regarding the women's participation and effect in setting of the agenda as follows.

While the majority of pastoral women did not participate in setting the agenda and indicated that agenda setting was an activity for men and hence organizers of meetings, some non-pastoral women appeared at agenda setting sessions. However, most of the agenda set did not reflect women's interest and at the same time the women became followers of agenda set by men. The other agenda presented by the women relied on the agenda about women already set by the government.

Similarly, about the pattern noted for the influence of cultural norms in participation in governance was also reflected in setting of agenda. While cultural norms played a significant role in limiting pastoral women's effect in setting of agenda, there was less of an influence of social norms on non-pastoral women's impact on agenda setting. In contrast pastoral women's participation did not have impact on issues concerning them. Similar situation prevailed among non-pastoral but at least non-pastoral women made attempts in setting the agenda for women. This provides an indication that, comparatively there is moderate influence in terms of non-pastoral women and agenda setting and a low level of influence in the pastoral women category.

5.4.2 Change in priorities

Women's participation in decision-making is theorized as bringing changes in priorities based on the logic that women prioritize issues for women. Likewise, the fact that there are different categories of women such as pastoral and non-pastoral women having different priorities and living in different environments, suggest diverse of priorities will occur in governance. Results from the two case studies revealed that women's priorities were different to those of men. However, women did not translate their priorities into bills for discussions in governance organs hence bringing no changes in priorities.

As illuminated here, pastoral women for instance, strongly expressed that their main priorities were water and medicine for their livestock. However, they did not express these priorities in any public forum in spite of their attendance at meetings and participation in campaigns. Interestingly, during interviews most pastoral women participated in various public forums and showed a strong concern over inadequate/poor service delivery, yet they could not

articulate the concerns in public. A similar situation was observed among non-pastoral women. They rarely addressed or defended their priorities such as health services and water in decision-making forums. Therefore, neither pastoral women nor non-pastoral women were able to come up with their priorities and argue them as women's priorities in decision-making forums.

General results in both case studies indicate that women were inclined to general priorities set through government policies which for most did not reflect the different needs and concerns that the two categories of women had. Such policies included HIV-AIDS and education policies which were cutting across all gender. In both case studies I rate as low the effects on changes in priorities as consequence of women's presence in governance.

5.4.3 Decision on different domains

In both case studies results show that pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in governance had a limited effect in decisions on different domains. Nevertheless, whilst general results from the pastoral women's case study indicated no effect in decisions on different domains, the non-pastoral women case study showed some effect in decisions on different domains. For instance, in the pastoral women's case study, decision-making was exclusively a male activity. This side-lined pastoral women from making any decision and power relations between men and women was strongly male dominated. Such experience was not so deeply rooted in non-pastoral women case study. Most non-pastoral women were able to influence decisions in various domains such as the fight against genital mutilation, early marriages and the spread of HIV-AIDS that were a problem to both pastoral and non-pastoral women.

Similarly, whereas non-pastoral women were able to participate and influence decisions on various domains outside public governance, such as church services, this was not the case with pastoral women. Most of the time pastoral women were passive and waited for men's directives, and became implementers of what other people decided even in other domains outside government. I therefore rate as moderate the effects on decision in different domains for non-pastoral women and the effects for pastoral women as low.

5.4.4 Different outcomes in service delivery

However, unlike the women's effect in different domains, results in all the cases studied showed that neither pastoral women's nor non-pastoral women's participation in decision-making had brought about different outcomes in service delivery.

This was evident in the results from both case studies that indicated service delivery in most of the villages studied was inadequate and poorly delivered despite the women's participation in decision-making. Moreover, results from both case studies indicated that women failed to translate their concerns about the general poor service delivery in their localities. They also failed to indicate the need to improve services in their areas of residence into workable agenda that could be tabled in decision-making organs for women's interest and get solutions.

Similarly, no effect was noticed even in women's specific services such as maternal health, despite the women's participation in decision-making and despite women complaining over their need of such services. It was noted in results for the two case studies that the improved services in both cases did not come as the result of women's participation but rather through other factors. The government and Non-Governmental Organizations were reported to be agents of change in service delivery in the study areas and the NGOs and the villages were supposed to maintain them. Water tap services in Rofati and Gwandi villages were installed and maintained by World Vision Tanzania. Similarly, the well maintained dispensaries in Olboloti and Gwandi villages as well as primary schools in each village studied. Most importantly, in both case studies results indicate that most women conceived that improving service delivery was the government's duty and not the concern of the women as such. In view of the aforesaid, I rate as low the effects women's participation in decentralized local governance on change in service in service delivery for both pastoral and non-pastoral categories.

Table 6: A summary of a comparative analysis between Pastoral and non-pastoral women's effects in participation within a decentralized local governance

Level of Effects	Needles for women's effect in participation			
	Setting of agenda	Change in priorities	Decision on different domains	Different outcomes in service delivery
High				
Moderate	NPW		NPW	
Low	PW	PW NPW	PW	PW NPW

In Table 6, I present a summary of the comparative analysis of results on the pastoral and non-pastoral women's effect on participation in decentralize local governance. The comparative analysis is made with reference to agenda setting, change in priorities, decision on different domains as well as different outcomes in service delivery. According to the summary, there is a moderate influence in terms of agenda setting and decisions on different domains among non-pastoral women. At the same time there is low influence on the agenda setting and decision on different domains among pastoral women. In both the case studies there are low levels of influence on change in priorities and different outcomes in service delivery among pastoral and non-pastoral women.

5.5 Concluding remarks

The comparative analysis of the results in the two case studies shows that there is a variation in levels of participation between pastoral and non-pastoral women groups. Whereas results reveal low participation in voting, campaigns, attendance to meetings, vying for leadership positions, and in decision-making among pastoral women, there is moderate participation in vying for leadership position and moderate participation in voting, campaign, attendance to meetings among non-pastoral and pastoral women. Similarly, in both case studies women's participation in public protest and debates is low. A similar scenario was noted in the dynamics of pastoral women and non-pastoral women's participation. Results show that comparatively there is indeed a higher influence from social norms, power relations and gender stereotypes and access to information on pastoral women's participation than on non-pastoral women. This suggests that pastoral women are more severely affected by forces affecting women's participation. Nonetheless, results in all cases reveal that generally there is limited effect of women participation in governance. A comparative analysis of the results point out that there is moderate effect in terms of agenda setting and decision on different domains among non-pastoral compared to pastoral women. Moreover, according to the results, there is little or no effect at all manifested in terms of change in priorities and different outcomes in service delivery as a result of women's participation in both cases. In general the comparative analysis suggests that there is a high effect of non-pastoral women's participation in governance compared to that of pastoral women. In the subsequent chapter I present a conclusion and recommendations drawn from the study.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

Women's participation in governance has attracted public attention all over the world, and has been engaged through a wide range of arguments. One of the dominant arguments advocates that more women in governance enhances their influence in decision-making. Another perspective holds that representation of women's concerns or interests depends on the roles played by actors in advancing women's concerns. Therefore, critical acts of representatives bring substantive changes concerning women and not the sex of the representatives.

In this chapter I present a summary of the entire study about women's participation in decentralized local governance in Tanzania. As an aid to the reader, I give a brief overview of the study problem and methods and summarize the study findings. I also highlight the relevance of the study to the existing theories. At the end, I provide conclusions reached and suggestions for future research projects.

6.2 The study problem, methods' overview and conclusion summary

At the beginning of this study, I introduced the theoretical arguments for including women in governance. These arguments cover a wide range of perspectives that are critical mass, women's descriptive representation, critical actors perspectives, women's substantive representation, women in development approach, gender in development approach to participation, and gender equity viewpoints. I recognise the existence of information about women's participation in governance in Tanzania. However, there is substantially limited updated documentation regarding women's participation beyond numbers. This study therefore engages the issue via qualitative research approaches and tools in a bid to obtain the missing information. In this vein, participant observations, interviews, key informants' interviews and focus group discussions were the main means I used to collect data as presented and analysed qualitatively all throughout this dissertation. Finally, based on the data collected from the study, I made a comparison of results between case studies.

I have come to the conclusion that there is limited pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance beyond numbers in Tanzania. This contradicts

theoretical perspectives that tie women politics to numerical representations. I argue that having women in governance does not guarantee women's participation in governance. Therefore, the discourse about participation and gender has to move beyond women's presence in governance and address the broader issues regarding the politics of women's participation in governance. A concise abstract of the findings of each core issue is presented in the subsequent sections.

6.3 Pastoral and non-pastoral women participation in a decentralized local governance

One of the key research questions for this study was, how do pastoral and non-pastoral women participate in decentralized local governance in Tanzania? I found that pastoral women and non-pastoral women's participation in governance was mainly descriptive. Data indicate that, on the one hand, pastoral women have limited freedom to participate in voting, as they have first to seek permission from their spouses or male elders before they can take part in governance matters. On the other hand, when pastoral men give women permission to participate in voting activities, they make sure they can control the vote of the women. This suggests that men control women's participation in governance. Women participate under men's influence, thus confirming the main weakness of this kind of participation, overlooking men's responsibility.

That notwithstanding, I found that unlike their male counterparts the majority of pastoral women did not participate in vying for leadership positions. A few pastoral women did attempt to participate in vying for leadership positions, however they did not succeed as they faced several restrictions from pastoral men. These findings confirm the gender and development approach supported by Ostergaard as seen in section 1.2. Similarly, I found that during campaign meetings pastoral women participated as listeners to the campaigners without questioning campaign candidates. I also observed the same during general public meetings as well as in decision-making organs such as Village Assemblies. Women attended meetings but did not speak or contribute in either. This challenges the critical mass argument advanced by Kanter, Dahlerup, Childs and Krook that link women's statistics to participation. During the fieldwork, I further observed that pastoral women did not attend public debates or protests as elaborated in sections 4.2.1.5 and 4.2.1.6. This implies that pastoral women have limited capacity to convey their demands to the government. This confirms Potts et al.'s critique on the understanding of participation as means to an end. It is not always the case that

by simply involving people that the intended objectives will be achieved.

Responses from the non-pastoral women case study indicate that non-pastoral women voted with limited information about candidates they voted for. Others voted without considering gender as an important aspect in governance. Few women attempted to vie for leadership positions, and the majority of those who did focused on the seats reserved for women which were less competitive than constituency seats. The few women representatives who in most cases adopted background positions during meetings defended their positions rather than women's interests. Such findings not only challenge the idea of gender quota but also contradicts the whole idea of women's descriptive participation.

Additionally, during fieldwork time, I observed that non-pastoral women attended meetings and campaigns without having enough information about the meeting/campaigns prior to attendance, while others were persuaded by their spouses to vote. These findings, on the one hand, confirm the argument that in decentralized local governance, women get opportunities to participate descriptively. On the other hand, these findings confirm the arguments that there are politics of participation within decentralized local governance.

During the same fieldwork, I found that non-pastoral women consider participation in public protest as unethical and so something they would not consider doing. Likewise, I found that non-pastoral women were sometimes involved in debates about general issues including gossip that were not related to governance issues. This entails that sometimes problems of women's participation come from women themselves. In this regard, the suggestion provided by the women in the development approach requires special treatment in order to bring about gender equality.

As a whole, the general view of how pastoral and non-pastoral women participate in decentralized local governance is mainly descriptive with limited evidence of women acting for women. I therefore argue that women in governance does not necessarily translate into women's ability to influence decision-making. Women's participation is monitored and controlled by men which affects the outcome of women's participation in governance.

6.4 Dynamics of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

The second research question that guided my study looked for the reasons why pastoral and non-pastoral women participate in the way that they do. Through this question I obtained data on the different dynamics of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in local governance. From the data I presented and discussed in chapter four, women's dynamics of

participation take a number of different forms.

First, I found that there were enabling opportunities for women's participation in decision-making such as the affirmative action policy that created special seats for women to participate in decision-making organs. This was taken to be an advantage especially for non-pastoral women as it enabled them to acquire all the reserved seats in Gwandi and Mrijo wards as well as in village councils in the wards. In addition, the government through its decentralisation policy that devolved decision-making power to the lowest level of governance, made it easier for women to participate in meetings, at least numerically, due to proximity. These opportunities at least ensured the presence of women in governance.

Second, I found that social and cultural norms, power relations, gender stereotypes, incentives and individual factors determined women's presence and acts in governance. For instance, while norms and values restricted women from participating in public activities, they also defined how women should participate in governance. It is social norms that define rights and responsibilities as well as appropriate behavior and expectations for women and men, which in most cases disadvantage women. Apart from social norms, I also found power relation between men and women determined women's presence as well as their role in governance. Men made strategic decisions not only for women to get involved in governance, but also for their roles in governance. Observations made by Schanke and Lange that Tanzania is dominated by strong patriarchal systems proved to be true throughout this research. Therefore I agree with Gaventa's theoretical understanding that existing power relations between men and women determine women's presence and ability to influence decision-making. In addition, I found that gender stereotypes also determine women's presence and their ability to act for women in general. For instance, I found that both men and women believe that women are the weaker sex, that women, unlike men, do not have the ability to participate in certain public activities. This validates Meena's observation that despite being involved in the struggle for independence in Tanzania, women were not nominated to become ministers in the first cabinet after independence, on the chauvinistic grounds that they were incapable of becoming cabinet ministers. Moreover, in my results I indicated that, on the one hand, incentives provided a motive or constraint for women's participation, while on the other hand, incentives influenced women's contribution in meetings. This is congruent with Holvoet, Roesnstone and Hansen's perspective through which it is seen that individuals become politically active because of various incentives they get or anticipate receiving. The results also confirm Meena's observation that incentives are a key determining factor for most

women vying for leadership positions in Tanzania. Nonetheless, I indicated in this dissertation that individual women's interests as well as access to information were also linked to determining women's activities and number of women taking part in decision-making. For instance, I noted that some women voted for CCM, the ruling party because of their interest in the party or in a particular candidate in CCM. Others did not attend various public meetings because they did not receive calls for the meetings. Similarly, I found that most women participated in electoral processes, campaigns and voting because of various sensitizations. These results confirm the literature which considers that participation is a voluntary act that can determine women's roles in politics as well as their social actions especially when they have access to information.

Related to interests and access to information, I found that knowledge of the Kiswahili language also contributed to determining women's participation in governance, both descriptively and substantively. This was particularly evident among pastoral women who indicated that they failed to participate in most public activities due to the language barrier. Moreover, I observed that the Kiswahili language knowledge influenced non-pastoral women's ability to make contributions in meetings. The non-pastoral women's language skills meant a greater ease of representation of their concerns in public forums. Similarly, the pastoral women's language barrier confirms the limited articulation of women's interests as elaborated in section 4.2.2.7.

As I stated in the theoretical literature, in general, the dynamics of women's participation is linked to either women's presence and roles in governance. This study indicates that dynamics of women's participation are linked to both women's presence and women's deeds in governance. Nevertheless, analysis of the results indicate that the dynamics of women's participation exists in a complex synergy mode and their efficacy vary between pastoral and non-pastoral women's groups. Therefore, I claim that studying dynamics of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation is a complex issue that cannot be understood by studying either presence of women or women's deeds in governance alone.

6.5 Effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance

My main aim in this section was to explore information that will provide answers to the third research question: what are the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation on decentralized local governance? As shown in the introduction of this thesis, my main focus in

this particular research looks at women's participation effects in the agenda setting, change in priorities, decisions on different domains, and different outcomes in services delivery. The findings indicate that pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation has no effect on governance. The findings point out that women have limited participation in agenda setting even when they had the opportunity to do so. As a result, men dominate agenda setting. Most of the agenda were pro men with only a limited number of topics raising women's concerns. The results do not correspond with Pitking's acceptance that women in governance often leads to changes in political discourse(s). Furthermore, the results revealed that there was no change in priorities as women's priorities were not put forward by women themselves and were not considered as urgent as other matters. Consequently, only general priorities set by the government and those supported by men prevailed in decision-making organs. This rejects Child and Krook's thesis on women's presence in governance perceived as bringing positive impact in the representation of women's issues. Likewise, I found that there is limited effect in decisions on different domains despite women's participation. For instance, despite the numbers of women in decision-making organs as reflected in tables 2 and 3 as well as several challenges facing women, they had no voice to influence decisions in different domains. These results contradict a large body of literature that shows women represent women, therefore, increasing the number of women in governance policy to have an impact on women's interests and gender equality (Phillips, 1995; Darcy and Welch, 1994; Bratton, 2005; Gallin and Ferguson, 1993; Moser, 1993; Jahan, 1995; Fopahunda, 2012). I do not agree with the theoretical perspective presented in section 1.2 that emphasizes the significance of representation by numbers.

In yet another perspective, I have indicated in this research the outcome was limited in terms of the category service delivery realized as a consequence of women's participation in governance. The women have continued facing similar challenges regarding limited service delivery for years, irrespective of their participation in campaigns, attendance to meetings, voting and having women representatives in decision-making organs. Related to this finding are findings in 4.2.3 which indicate that pastoral women have been facing problems of limited access to health care services, water and medicine for their livestock, and thus are required to travel long distances to get access to the needed services. Moreover, both pastoral and non-pastoral women face serious shortages in maternal health services in the study areas; but the women did not take initiatives to address these issues as problems that require their attention. This implies that there is a mismatch between women's participation in governance and

defending their concerns. In this vein, I concur with the arguments by Krook and Childs that the effects of women's participation should not be gauged from their mere involvement in governance, but by the role played by actors in defending women's concerns. From the findings in sections 4.2.3 and 4.3.3, I conclude that despite women's participation in decentralized local governance, there has been limited effect in terms of agenda setting, bringing changes in priorities, decision in different domains as well as changes in service delivery. The effects of women's participation in governance are informed and controlled by cultural traits as well as men's dominance. I therefore argue that while theoretically the presence of women in governance brings changes to policies concerning women, this was not demonstrated by the findings of this study. I agree with the gender and development perspective presented under section 1.2 that the effects of women's participation cannot be realized by sex representation but through addressing issues of gender relations.

6.6 Theoretical implications of the study

This research depicted a number of findings that have implications for the existing theoretical perspectives presented and discussed in section 1.2.

First, the research contrasts the theoretical perspective that emphasizes women's descriptive participation in governance as a solution towards attainment of their substantive participation in governance. While it is theoretically assumed that women in governance guarantee their substantive participation, this research contradicts such a stand. The research shows that issues of participation and gender cannot be dealt with by women's presence alone. They are strongly connected to broader socio-cultural and economic factors underlying pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in governance.

In addition, the research contrasts the theoretical argument that women's issues are best represented by women. The study reveals that there is no relationship between women's participation and the representation of their concerns. The analysis of results reveals that women's representatives do not in general represent women's concerns. This means that classifying women representatives as descriptive, symbolic and accountable individuals to women as found in the theoretical literature (Section 1.2) is inappropriate. Therefore, women representatives should "act for" and "stand for" women.

Second, this research consists of rigorous imperial evidence of social norms and values, gender stereotypes, power relations, incentives, interests and access to information as determining factors for pastoral and non-pastoral women's descriptive and substantive

participation in governance. Moreover, the research argues that the dynamics of women's participation vary in degree of influence on pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in governance.

Third, the research provides additional insights into the role of the Kiswahili language in determining women's participation in governance. Literature on participation and gender in Tanzania rarely provides adequate and convincing information on the role of the Kiswahili language. This research shows that the Kiswahili language determines women's descriptive and substantive participation in governance in Tanzania.

Fourth, the research contrasts the theoretical argument that critical actors influence policy changes related to women's concerns. It is established in this research that neither men nor women defended women's concerns. It was for instance noted that women supported concerns of men and the general public, but men rarely supported women's concerns. Some women believed themselves to have the ability to represent women's concerns but failed to do so because of cultural ties that constrained them from being critical actors. This implies that critical actor's theoretical perspective does not hold in this research.

Fifth, this research consists of a rigorous comparative analysis of pastoral and non-pastoral women's experiences in participation in governance. Most studies on participation and gender are limited to studying pastoral and non-pastoral women categories in isolation. This study is unique from a body of literature on participation and gender in Tanzania as it expounds experiences of the two women categories in participation in governance beyond numbers and their level of involvement in governance.

6.7 Enhancing pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in decentralized local governance in Tanzania.

From pastoral and non-pastoral women's experience in participation in decentralized local governance in Tanzania the following can be learned.

First, from the observational findings we learn that neither the presence of women in governance nor their critical acts alone can guarantee substantive pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in Tanzania. I therefore argue for a hybrid approach to enhance and guarantee women's participation in governance. The approach should look to both increasing women's numbers as well as enhancing their roles in defending women's interests in governance.

Second, there are different dynamics determining women's participation in governance. Nevertheless, understanding the dynamics of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation is complex because the dynamics are interlinked, and one factor cannot guarantee explanation of women's participation. For instance, while norms provide for women's participation in certain activities such as meetings, they also define how the women should behave in meetings. Likewise, whereas incentives pull women to participate in meetings, incentives also control women's contributions in meetings. Similarly, whereas access to information determined women's attendance to meetings, lack of information made women fail to contribute in meetings. Therefore in my view I argue that, to guarantee women's substantive participation, requires a holistic approach to understand underlying forces determining women's participation in governance.

Third, with regard to the effects of pastoral and non-pastoral women's participation in governance, I demonstrated that there is no relationship between the presence of women in governance and the outcomes concerning women issues. In this regard, I remain convinced that the only possible way to achieve effects of women's participation in governance is by reconstructing policies governing women's participation in governance. The policies should not only focus on ensuring women in governance, but also deconstructing gender identities as well as relations between men and women that undermine women's inputs and outcomes concerning women's issues. For instance, the on-going process of writing the constitution in Tanzania should not only aim at balancing the number of men and women in decision-making organs but also guarantee representation of women's interests in the organs.

Finally, I observed that although pastoral and non-pastoral women live in the same area, they have different experiences in terms of their participation in governance. From the study findings pastoral women experience more severe conditions for participation than non-pastoral women due to various reasons as such as the influence of social norms and gender stereotypes, access to information as well as the Kiswahili language. I therefore argue that interventions for women's participation in governance requires consideration of the unique dichotomies and peculiarities among women.

6. 8 Suggestions for further research

The study cannot claim to have exhausted all information regarding pastoral and non-pastoral women's experience in participation in governance. Further research needs to be done in order to better understand pastoral women and non-pastoral women's experiences in their participation in specific ethnic groups, such as pastoral Maasai versus the Warangi, a non-pastoral ethnic group. I find this is interesting because within pastoral and non-pastoral women categories there are different ethnic groups with different cultural variations. By narrowing pastoral and non-pastoral women groups into smaller groups different and detailed experiences in participation in governance among women can be described and analysed. The Maasai and Warangi as dominant ethnic groups of pastoral and non-pastoral groups respectively in Kondoa, provide for justification for choosing the women ethnic groups. Additionally, I find that there is a need for further research to study how women's participation at the local level influences or affects governance at national level. This is important as it will help to establish whether there is any policy change at national level which is due to women's participation. Moreover, it would be interesting to conduct further research on governance "inside" pastoral households in order to find out how it relates to or affects governance "outside" households. I find this is equally important because there is a link between governance in households and pastoral women's participation in governance. Understanding the link helps us to better understand and establish appropriate measures to deal with problems of women's participation in governance. Additionally, I find that there is a need to understand the relationship between women representatives and pastoral women. How often do they consult pastoral women? How often do they go back to the grassroots and meet pastoral women so as to give them feedback, hope and encouragement to participate in politics? What is pastoral women's perception of women's representatives or the government? Through my fieldwork experience in this research, I came to learn that all women representatives in decision-making organs belonged to the non-pastoral women category. Likewise, I also learned that pastoral women have different interests from non-pastoral women. Therefore, it would be interesting to know if non-pastoral women represent pastoral women's concerns.

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